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ABSTRACT

Residential summer work programs in a camp setting for disadvantaged high school youth from welfare families were conducted in the summers of 1967 (in Montezuma, Colorado) and 1968 (in Montezuma, Colorado and Jamaica, Vermont). Followup activities during the school year following the youths' summer camp work program were part of overall project operations. The reader with some background in social psychology theory will benefit from this attempt to relate behavioral knowledge in psychological terms to the kinds of human experiences needed by disadvantaged youths as a means of "breaking the poverty cycle." [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (Author)

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PROGRAM EXPERIMENTATION PROJECT ON SPECIAL SUMMER CAMP AND FOLLOW-UP ON YOUTH ACTIVITIES TO BREAK THE POVERTY CYCLE

Roderick Durkin, Ph.D

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It is curious that so many middle and upper income people believe inordinately in the power of social influence. They regard the individual, and especially their children, as being continually influenced by and extremely vulnerable to deleterious social influences. A teacher, even in the elementary grades,who allows herself to become embroiled in an inappropriate ego battle with a student, is considered a threat to the student's academic success and possibly even his acceptance to a good college. A child's friends are also seen as potent forces for good and evil and are thus objects of great parental concern and manipulation. Similarly, fashionable clothes, straight teeth, and an awareness of the social graces are considered essential for the child to experience social acceptance, which is believed to be necessary for the development of a healthy personality and adequate self-esteem. In regard to the All American standard of respectability - one's daughter - no amount of happy family life or smooth transition through the stages of psychosexual development are sufficient to save the daughter who comes home one evening on the back of a Hell's Angels' motorcycle. Such "Pied Pipers of Hamlin" as the East Village, drinking, pot,promiscuity,etc. are all regarded as powerful influences from which children must be protected. Even adults are believed to be vulnerable to deleterious social influences such as work pressure, which can lead to alcholoism, or the sterility of suburban life, which can lead otherwise good people to a "La Dolce Vita" existence. In short, the individual is seen as continually adapting to his environment and as extremely vulnerable to social influences, in particular the pernicious ones.

A child growing up in a poverty or ghetto environment, however, is evidently of a different psychological nature. If he fails to overcome the influences of one of the harshest conceivable environments, then he is regarded as a personal failure. His failure is attributed by the upper and middle income groups to his laziness, immorality, irresponsibility, lack of initiative, and a variety of possible personal defects,as opposed to its being an understandable and predictable response to the harsh environment. Inadequate educational facilities, poor health, dope pushing efforts of procurers, extensive criminal influences,etc., are not regarded as relevant etiological factors in the case of the poverty youngster.

If one has a consistent and scientific psychology of social influence, should it not be applicable to both the middle income and poverty child? A hypothetical experiment which could delineate the relative importance of social influence v s. individual responsibility in the shaping of personality would be the transposition of groups of individuals from one environment to the other. The use of groups of individuals would be necessary in order to avoid the confusion arising from possible exceptional individuals like Horatio Alger who, because of their unique personal resources,overcome almost any deleterious circumstances. To determine the extent to which individuals continue to adapt to new environments (as opposed to maintaining personalities which have become functionally autonomous of the environment), the age of individuals at transposition could be an independent variable. Would a middle class individual, deprived of proof of his education and resources and with his skin changed to black become cynical, anti-social, distrustful of authority and alienated in a relatively short period of time? Similarly, would the poverty child, given the extensive support available in the relatively benign middle income environment, develop a more adequate self-image, make more effective use of educational and medical opportunities and become a hard-working, responsible person showing the necessary initiative in his search for success?

In its broadest sense the Sage Hill Camp programs have been similar to such a hypothetical experiment. In the summer of 1967 the camp took boys from a poverty community in Denver, Colorado to a summer camp in the Colorado mountains. For a brief five weeks they participated in a guided group interaction program designed specifically to help break the poverty cycle. In the summer of 1968 the experiment was replicated when thirty-six boys from Harlem in New York City went to a similar camp in Vermont where they actually built the camp facilities. The boys participating in this experiment were not atypical of ghetto poverty teenagers. They came from predominantly minority group, ethnic backgrounds and many of them had had "run-ins" with the police. Most were having difficulties in school, came from unstable homes and in general shared most of the characteristics of ghetto teenagers. Briefly, the purpose of this experiment was to determine the impact and duration of a relatively brief five week interlude in which the boys experienced a social milieu which was specifically designed to be rewarding, to enhance self-esteem, to engender a sense of cooperation and to foster more effective interpersonal skills.

A detailed theoretical overview of social influence and an analysis of the camp program is provided in the following sections. By evaluating the impact of the program the experiment also sought to delineate the nature, extent and irreversibility of adaptation to ghetto environments. The evaluation of the program used such experimental procedures as the randomization of campers to experimental and control groups, personality inventories, attitude scales, experimental tasks, and behavior ratings,etc. Such paper and pencil instruments are limited for detecting changes because of the limitations imposed by the lack of reliability and validity in change scores. Significant changes, however, were found and are described in the results section. In some instances, the significance was accountable to changes in the waiting list control group. Apparently the summer experience of being at loose ends and on the streets is a negative one for teenagers. In addition to assessing the extent of change induced by camp, interrelationships between such variables as sociometric status, behavior ratings, ratings on mental health, and performance on experimental tasks were determined. Changes during camp were also studied by daily behavior ratings.

An impressionistic evaluation is that the majority of boys responded positively to the program and gave up many of their negative attitudes, anti-social behavior and self-defeating interpersonal styles of relating. As these poverty perpetuating personality characteristics waned, a sense of cooperation, espirit de corps, and more effective interpersonal relationships waxed. Evidence for the relative success of the program is the lack of physical fighting, the active participation in the governing of the camp, and the fact that the ghetto teenagers with little technical knowledge were successful in building two different camp facilities. These accomplishments would not have been possible if the boys had not learned technical skills, and cooperated with one another. In short, they learned to want to do what it was necessary for them to do in order to be effective in this task. There were, of course, the usual conflicts and difficulties that should be anticipated in working with any teenagers and staff. That the program was satisfying is demonstrated by the fact that the overwhelming majority of campers want to return. One only needs to hear the boys bragging to non-campers about their accomplishment to sense the subjective meaning of having built, governed, and actively participated in a program which abounded in opportunities for personal self-actualization.

Many outdoor and camping enthusiasts seek to justify summer camp experiences in terms of the value of being away from the city, fresh air, and an opportunity to be close to the natural environment, while often neglecting the potential of a camp program for training boys for future employment, developing advocate services in communities, using camp relationships to foster social action,etc. The Sage Hill program has specifically sought to capitalize on and to exploit more fully the potential of a summer camp program in the following ways:

1. Summer camps, like many other residential institutions,often end up with the adults doing things to the children, such as recreating, ordering, leading, and in general, doing for them. If learning is to be effective, then the individual must become actively involved in the learning process rather than being the passive recipient of advice, explanations, and instructions. Specifically the Sage Hill program tries to put campers in a position where they learn for themselves the attitudes, motivations, and interpersonal skills which are necessary for breaking out of the poverty cycle. Their active participation is gained primarily in two ways. First, the boys have actually built most of the facilities of the camp. In the process of building they have come to recognize and accept (i.e., learn) the value of certain technical skills, interpersonal relations, and positive attitudes which are functional prerequisites to such building projects. Having seen evidence of the necessity of these prerequisites, they are more likely to understand and accept them. The second major technique of gaining boys' involvement has been the evening meetings. Each evening all of the campers and staff discuss the program and its problems. The boys have a "non-token" voice in governing the camp and in all situations have an opportunity to make their opinions known, to override staff in certain situations and to plan work and activity schedules. At these meetings they are free and are expected to criticize the program, the staff, and fellow campers. Similarly they are expected to consider criticisms of their own behavior. As an example of their power and responsibility they interview and have veto power over adult staff whom we consider hiring for the summer. This participation in the decision-making and the actual building of the camp facilities is specifically designed to engender a sense of participation and partnership in the program which results in its getting the boys to do what they must do.

2. Another way the program weeks to capitalize on its potential is in developing good relationships between the staff and the campers. Staff are expected to

address themselves to the positive aspects of the boys by providing realistic encouragement and positive comments on the boys'efforts. The relationships are characterized by trust and a mutual sense of cooperation and a closeness which is not found in situations where a more caste-like dichotomy is made between staff and campers. Efforts are continually made to provide challenging though not overwhelming experiences and to avoid failure-producing experiences with which the boys are all too familiar.

3. With the active participation of the boys in the building of the camp, the governing of the program, and their relationships with adults, the foundation is laid for the year-round follow-up program. This brief interlude away from the distracting and diluting effects of the city allows close personal relationships to develop between campers and staff. These relationships are capitalized on in the follow-up program which maximizes the potential of a summer camp program. This follow-up is vital for maintaining throughout the year the continuity of the program. Boys know that they can return for as long as they wish and this assurance is crucial because it facilitates their willingness to get involved and make long term commitments. Mutually binding commitments are important during the turmoil of the adolescent years and they provide important stability in the boys'lives.

4. In addition long term relationships formed at camp make possible an advocating service for boys. Poverty people have more than their share of medical, legal, psychiatric and educational difficulties and meager as services are, poverty people often do not utilize the available service. A critical link between the potential client and the network of formal care givers is the advocating of an acceptable third party. A relationship, which by definition requires long term mutual involvement and concern, is necessary for anyone to be an acceptable third party. Since the camp program often results in such relationships, it provides many opportunities for advocate services for campers on numerous occasions during the year. The staff have helped with legal, medical, psychiatric, drug addiction, educational and consumer fraud problems.

5. The opportunities for continuity through the year are also provided by the Junior Counselor Program For reasons which will be discussed in full later, boys are screened for their potential as leaders and are brought up through the ranks in the Junior Counselor Program. They are given an increasing amount of responsibility commensurate with their maturity and ability as a leader. The program is important in that it both maintains the involvement of older boys and, in the case of successful junior counselors, often leads later to "New Careers" types of employment

In the following sections a theoretical overview, an experimental design, and a discussion of the implications of the camp program are provided as a background for the systematic and empirical evaluation of the camp with comparisons between experimental and control groups, internal comparisons between behavior ratings, sociometric status, attitudes, personality characteristics,etc.

With their relative inability to reliably and validly measure change, paper and pencil tests impose severe limitations on any evaluations of programs vis a vis changes of attitudes, personality characteristics, motivations,etc. A litmus paper for assessing changes in attitudes, personality, mental health,etc., simply is not available. As elegant as factor analytic and multiple discriminate procedures are, they necessarily are crude instruments. For example, what is the role of, or, if you will, the beta weight of factor analytically derived scale scores in an evaluation of a camper who, at the close of camp, tried to hide from his foster parents in the boys' room at the Welfare Office? The same camper establishes continuity in his experience by bringing home a canteen of water from the camp creek to sustain him throughout the year. Revealing as these two incidents are, they illustrate the perplexing problem of how they should be combined with an empirical evalpation.

While the state of empirical evaluation leaves much to be desired, there are equally vexing problems if each individual relies solely on his own judgment and impression ,since this raises the problem of whose judgment is accurate. The admission of large-scale failures strains the capacity of human beings who are involved in the consuming and exhausting venture of running a program. The following evaluation is perhaps unique in that it attempts to weld empirical data with first hand knowledge and judgment gained by actually living with the boys. The evaluation thus combines hard data, soft data, and an analysis of the functionning of social structures in an attempt to accurately measure the program's feasibility and effectiveness.

The following is a strategy and an evaluation of the success of this strategy in breaking the poverty cycle of a group of youngsters who have been involved in the Sage Hill Camp Program.

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW: SOCIAL INFLUENCE AND PERSONALITY

The basic theoretical orientation of the Sage Hill Camp program is a social psychological view of personality. This view emphasizes the relative importance of the social milieu in influencing a person's perceptions, attitudes, motivations, styles of relating to others, self concept, personality traits, etc., i.e. his personality. This is a broad view of personality, which has its locus in the individual's interpersonal relations, (Sullivan, 1953) and (Mead, 1934) rather than in emphasizing the core constructs of basic personality structure. Basic to most definitions of personality is the enduring nature of constellations of traits, behaviors, attitudes, etc. The stability of personality over time is often explained ontogenetically; that is, adult personality is the result of earlier experiences that occur at critical stages in infancy or childhood (Freud, 1927). An alternative explanation to this enduring quality of personality is the fact that individuals live their lives in relatively similar social milieux and that these milieux elicit similar responses over the years. Given enculturation in a specific milieu, the individual is then best adapted to such a milieu, and this earlier preparation will lead him to seek out friends, jobs, organizations, spouses, etc. that are congruent with the earlier experiences. In a wide variety of ways the individual seeks out and is led to social milieux that are psychologically and demographically congruent with former social milieux, or reference and membership groups (Merton, 1957, pp. 225-286), (Sherif and Sherif, 1964).

If this explanation of the enduring quality of personality is significantly correct, then marked changes in personality could occur when the individual is removed from his customary environment and is exposed to a new field of social forces. This powerfield should then shape out personality to functionally fit the new environment or social system (Spiro, 1961, pp. 93-127). If social systems do have this power to influence personality, then residential treatment programs should, theoretically at least, be able to undo many of the deleterious effects of former environments, and reshape a healthier or more adaptive personality, depending on the treatment program's ability to marshal the field of social forces to create a therapeutic milieu.

Two types of evidence will be presented to support the notion that an important and relatively overlooked component of the stability of personality is based upon a process of continual and on-going adaptation to force fields generated by social systems. The first type of evidence will include studies in stimulus deprivation and the response of personalities to dramatic changes in the social milieux and to total institutions. The second will be a brief review of some social psychology experiments which have demonstrated dramatic adaptations of such aspects of personality as motivation, attitudes, behavior, etc., to experimentally induced or controlled changes in the force field of the life space of the experimental subjects.

The functional prerequisites of a society, as delineated by Aberle et al. (1950) are presented for the sake of subsequent arguments in order to provide some basic statements about social systems to which personalities must continuously adapt. The paper ostensibly is sociological in that it presents nine sociological prerequisites for the maintenance of a functioning social system. Its relevance for personality is that these clearly sociological prerequisites concomitantly require that the personality of the actors be enculturated to meet the demands of sociological prerequisites. For each prerequisite there is a psychological counterpart for the actors in the social system. In considering the functional prerequisites of a social system to which individuals must adapt, consideration should be given to the nature and extent of the psychological adaptation required. Does the inherent shaping of motivations, cognition, roles, etc. seem appropriate to ontogenetic explanations or to the notion of an on-going adaptation? In other words, how enduring and adequate can childhood experiences be in providing the psychological training required of actors to meet the psychological prerequisites inherent in adapting to the following functional prerequisites (Aberle,et.al., 1950):

1. "Provision for adequate relationship to the environment and for sexual recruitment" - requires that individuals be trained in the necessary skills to manipulate the environment so as to maintain the members of the social system and that individuals participate in sexual reproduction and child rearing.

2. Role differentiation and role assignment - psychologically requires that people learn the behaviors to enact numerous roles in that they are motivated to enact these roles.

3. Communication - requires that individuals learn a language.

4. "Shared cognitive orientations" - "In any society the members must share a body of cognitive orientations which make possible adaptation to and manipulation of the situation, make stable, meaningful, and predictable social situations in which they are engaged and account for those significant aspects of the situation which they do not have adequate prediction and control over." Psychologically, this requires that individuals' cognitions, for which the process of consensual validation would seem extremely important, be adequately similar.

5. A shared set of articulated goals - requires that individuals must be motivated to achieve prescribed goals, or, in the words of Fromm (1953), that the individual must be made to "want to do what he has to do."

6. The normative regulation of means - the prescription of means for the attainment of socially formulated goals requires, psychologically, that individuals must be motivated to accept the means and to have the necessary skills, etc. to obtain the means.

7. The regulation of affective expression requires that affect states of the members be mutually communicable and comprehensible, and that not every affect can be expressed. Some must be supressed or repressed. Lastly, there are affects which must be produced in the members if the social system is to survive. Psychologically, this requires that the individual be trained regarding the expression, chan ling, and comprehension of affect states.

8. "Socialization - to each individual must be transmitted as much of the methods of dealing with the total situation as will render him capable of adequate performance in his several roles throughout life. The individual requires a working knowledge of the behavior and attitudes relevant to his various roles and to identify to some degree with such values as are shared by the whole society." Psychologically, socialization begins at an early age but socialization continues throughout the life cycle, requiring that individuals learn and be motivated to behave effectively in a specific social system.

9. "The effective control of disruptive forms of behavior - The extent to which such behavior will occur is dependent on the way that various other functional prerequisites are met. Role allocation, goal systems, regulation of means, the expression, and the socialization are the more obvious cases in point. It is clear from the preceding argument that all these functional prerequisites tend to prevent the occurance of disruptive behavior. To understand why this functional prerequisite is necessary, we must ask, ''Why would not a perfectly integrated society exist in its absence?' The answer lies in three conditions inherent in any society: scarcity of means, frustrations of expectations, and imperfections of socialization." Psychologically, the control of disruptive behavior must be built into the individuals so that they are motivated to want to do what they in fact must do (Fromm, 1944).

It is clear from the list of above functional prerequisites of a society that each prerequisite has a psychological counterpart with implications for the personalities of the individual actors, regarding shaping of their motivations, cognitions, affect states, and technological and interpersonal skills. In addition, goals must be cathected, means for attaining the goals accepted, disruptive behavior controlled, and roles learned and enacted effectively in order that individuals adapt to the social system. Clearly, such psychological demands inherent in the prerequisites strain the explanatory powers of ontogenetic theories. While some of the prerequisites motivating people to conform to the demands of society and to be self-controlling are, undoubtedly, partially laid down in the early years of life, it is obvious that socialization is an on-going adaptation to the social system throughout life. Early experiences may provide prototypes for later patterns of adaptation, but are not, however, sufficient to explain much of adult behavior.

A more adequate theoretical approach regards the individual as constantly adapting to the demands of the social system or, in field theory terms, responding to demands of the field of social forces. In short, it seems clear that his behavior as an adult is most comprehensible in terms of his on-going adaptation to the social milieux. Lewin (1935, p. 41) described such a broader view of the life space of the individual as follows:

> Thus, in the psychological fields most fundamental to the whole behavior of living things the transition seems inevitable to a Gallilean view of dynamics which derives all its vectors not from single isolated objects, but from the mutual relations of factors in the concrete whole situation, but is essentially from the momentary conditions of the individual and the structure of the psychological situations. The dynamics of the process is always to be derived from the relation of concrete individuals to the concrete situation, and so far as internal forces are concerned from the mutual relations of the various functional systems that make up the individual.

Evidence regarding the nature and extent of the continual adaptation of personality to social systems is drawn from the observations of the impact of total institutions on individuals and from social psychological experiments. While such reinterpreted data has inherent limitations, it does suggest new directions for the study of the process of on-going adaptation to social structures.

In the studies of stimulus deprivation, two of which are described by

Heron, W. et al., (1953), and Heron, W. et al., (1956) some fundamental questions are raised about the stability of personality. In the experiments subjects were deprived of auditory, visual, and tactile stimulation, which resulted in traumatic disturbances, and in many cases, hallucinations and psychotic-like symptoms occured in subjects. While some questions remain about the experimental procedures, this deprivation of stimulus nutriment raises some very fundamental questions about the stability of personality. In some subjects it was discovered that there was a loss in ability to judge the third dimension after less than a day of stimulus deprivation. One often takes for granted the ability to perceive depth as an enduring perceptual capacity, but one is likely to overlook the fact that all individuals receive continual feedback on their depth perception. The stability of the ability to judge depth may be thus sustained by continuous practice rather than by its early securing of a fixed position amongst the perceptual skills. Rather than viewing personality as a fixed entity, one might consider an open-system model, which requires that inputs be processed in order to maintain stable outputs. In other words, stimulus nutriment may be mandatory for the maintenance of the personality, a component of personality stability that has not as yet been either empirically or theoretically partialled out.

One source of evidence that supports this notion of the amenability of personality to change comes from the study of what Goffman (1961) refers to as total institutions. Goffman describes total institutions as providing the necessities, social contacts and activities throughout the twenty-four hour day of inmates. Total institutions are characterized by highly regulated and standardized daily routines which do not cater to the idiosyncratic needs of the individuals, and by a caste system of inmates and the custodians with regard to social interaction, status, etc. Given these conditions, Goffman describes the mortification of the inmate. This is a depersonalization of the individual which includes the stripping of his rights and obligations in the outside life, choices about activities, dress, social relations, etc. The effects of this depersonalization are often dramatic changes in the inmate's personality. There is some evidence that the chronic schizophrenia syndrome may be in fact iatrogenic illness. If normal individuals were subjected to custodial care for several years, their personalities would probably become functually adapted to the requirements of the total institution, i.e., become indistinguishable from a chronic schizophrenic.

Bettelheim (1943) describes the effects of inmate life on individuals in German prison camps, where he observed that the final stage of adjustment was to identify with the aggressor, namely the German guards. Prisoners began adopting the mannerisms and values of the guards, and even took to wearing pieces of their uniforms. When the relationship of captor - prisoner is considered, this seems a remarkable response. When one takes into account the social forces at work on those who survived, however, it is much more comprehensible that so many inmates were so compliant and emulated their captors. In another prison camp situation, in North Korea, Schein (1956) describes how the Communists "brain wash" prisoners. The Communists were able, in many cases, to obtain the cooperation of inmates and to induce a greater acceptance of Communist ideology. One of the techniques used was the undermining of group resistance (which was crucial in resisting social pressures in the Asch (1954) and Milgram (1965) experiments) to social pressure. Self-criticism talks of reciting the Communist speeches with a prisoner taking the role of a Communist were effective with some soldiers in changing their behavior and attitudes. Other examples of deleterious effects of total institutions upon personality are described by Sykes (1958) for a prison and by Dornbush (1955) for a military academy.

No doubt, the most dramatic changes in personality come from institutions that mortify the personalities. There are, however, examples of the use of total institutions for positive and rehabilitative purposes, such as the treatment of disturbed children (Redl and Wineman, 1951), and the treatment of delinquents (Empi and Rabow, 1964, pp. 509-539, and Pearl, 1964, pp. 481-485). In summary, this evidence suggests that inherent in total institutions is a potentially powerful field of social forces capable of influencing personalities of their inmates, depending, of course, on the ability of the program to marshal effectively the field of social forces that impinge on the individual.

The second source of evidence relevant to the stability of the personality is derived from experimental social psychology. Certain experiments are presented briefly in order to delineate that component of personality stability which may be due to the similarity of stimuli inputs and the continual adaptation to similar social milieux or force fields. The review is intended to be neither exhaustive nor critical, but simply to demonstrate some of the effects on different aspects of personality that have been revealed in experimental situations. Ideally, one would, at this juncture, like to be able to return to Aberle, et.al.'s (1950) functional prerequisites of society and to provide experiments relevant to each of the nine functional prerequisites. Unfortunately, some of the functional prerequisites are not amenable to experimentation and the two sets of evidence derived from vastly different theoretical frameworks make it difficult to collate social functions and specific experiments. The following studies are more relevant to specific functional prerequisites and are presented first:

1. Role differentiation and role assignment - Janis and King (1954) had subjects enact roles espousing opinions that differed from their own. As a result of this role-taking, experimental subjects' opinions changed in the direction of those espoused in role-playing.
2. Milgram (1963), in his studies of obedience has found that when subjects, enmeshed in a system of authority, are coerced, they will perform cruel and inhuman acts on bogus, experimental subjects, such as administrating apparantly painful electrical shocks, Responding to the sanctions of authority can lead individuals to behave in a way contrary to their inclination and ethics. Milgram (1965) has found that the effectiveness of being enmeshed in a system of authority is dramatically mitigated by the presence of an ally who supports resistance to the authority of the experimenter.
3. Communication - Schacter (1951) in experimentally created groups found that significant amounts of communication were directed at individuals holding views divergent from those of the group. This inordinate direction of communication continued until the group rejected the individual. This demonstrates the use of communication in maintaining the social order and in exerting pressure on deviant individuals. Communication is both an expression and a force itself in the individual's life space.
4. Shared cognitive orientations - Asch (1951) found that group pressure was effective in altering the perceptions and judgments about the length of lines. One third of the subjects who found that their perceptions of the lengths of lines were not congruent with the stated but incorrect perceptions of others, changed their perceptions or judgments about the lengths of lines. Only about one fourth of the subjects did not yield to group pressure. This force to conformity was mitigated when the subject had allies to support his correct perceptions. Sherif (1937) found that group norms influenced the nature and extent of the apparent movement in an experiment on the autokinetic phenomenon.
5. A shared set of articulated goals - Douvan (1956) used the promise of

reward or non-reward as an independent variable in a study of need achievement in poverty and non-poverty youngsters. She found that in the reward condition the need achievement motivation of both groups of boys increased with promise of a reward. When subjects were told that no reward would be forthcoming, it was only non-poverty children whose need achievement increased. An apparent difference between the groups was that the non-poverty boys seemed to bring with them to this situation, a least, high need achievement which is aroused by the opportunity to demonstrate achievement or excellence. This was not true of the poverty group, whose need achievement appears to have been contingent upon the promise of reward. This group was less inclined to rise to the bait, having been disappointed by many fruitless endeavors. An implication of this study is that a 'core motive' need achievement seems to wax and wane in relationship to the individual. This raises the possibility of similar functional relationships between different motives, i.e., their existence and levels, and the culturally patterned force field of the individual.

6. The regulation of affective expression - Schacter (1962) found that subjects who had been physiologically aroused by injections of epinephrine felt and expressed emotions appropriate to their cognitive structuring of the situation. In one situation, they felt anger and in another they felt elation in response to the antics of an experimental confederate. Given a state of psychological arousal, the subject's cognitive interpretation of the situation determined which of the emotions would be felt and expressed. Clearly, the arousal and expressions of emotion are intimately related to the immediate situation, i.e. the life space of the individual.

7. Control of disruptive behavior - Durkin (1968, unpublished data) found, in an experimental study of a summer camp program for poverty boys, that changes in "internalized social control" as measured by factor Q3 of Catt I's High School Personality Questionaire, varied in the control experimental conditions. Boys were randomly assigned to attend either the first session or second session of an experimental camp which entailed the actual building of the camp, extensive use of group dynamics techniques, and involvement in a program that was designed to enhance self-control by motivating campers to "want to do what they had to do" (Fromm, 1943). The control group was a waiting list control group of boys randomly assigned to come during the second session in August. It was hypothesized that self-control would be increased in a group of boys involved in a program designed to develop their self-control. Statistical differences were, in fact, found between the experimental and control groups. However, the difference came not from an increase in self-control in the experimental groups but from a decline in the control group's. Both groups were statistically identical initially. An interpretation of this unanticipated finding is related to the nature of the control group's experience. The experimental group went directly from school activities into camp activities, while the control group did not participate in organized activities. They were in the ghetto during the summer and were "at loose ends." It may be that one's internalized self-control in fact is functionally related to external controls. The act of participating in organized activities may support and/or enhance internalized self-control. In short, self-control may wax and wane in relationship to external control. This finding has profound importance for our understanding of personality and specifically the areas of self-control or super-ego. From the perspective of ontogenetic theories of personality it has long been assumed that the super-ego is a built-in, relatively constant aspect of personality. In Freudian theory, it develops in boys in the early years and is crystallized at the time when the boy identifies with the father and thus resolves the Oedipal conflicts. If this finding is replicated in further studies, it raises some

extremely fundamental questions about the early determination of self-control. (For a more detailed discussion seethe Results section).

In addition to those studies which have been related to Aberle's functional prerequisites, the following aspects of personality have been studied in experimental situations. The entire field of social psychology can be regarded as the study of social influence.

8. Behavior - To the extent that behavior itself is an aspect of personality, social psychology has adequately demonstrated that behvior is amenable to social influence. Levin (1958) found that decision making is affected by the context in which subjects received information. More decisions leading to greater changes of behavior occurred as a result of group discussion rather than as a result of receiving a lecture. Lewin et al. (1939) found that aggression, scapegoating, and irritability were more common in experimentally created authoritarian groups than in democratically-led groups of boys. Cock and French (1948) found that bringing factory workers into the discussion concerning changes in production significantly lessened their resistance to change, compared with those not involved in the decision-making. While such studies can be critized as dealing with only relatively isolated aspects of behavior and of having little salience for the more "core" aspects of personality, the work of Wolpe (1965) indicates that the control of reinforcement contingencies can have dramatic effects on such very salient behavior as "pathology." It is often argued that such pathological behavior as speech impediments, anxiety attacks, phobias, and inadequate interpersonal relations, is not superficial behavior, but functionally related to and symptomatic of deep-seated and salient pathological processes. If these are behaviors which can be influenced as Wolpe demonstrates, then again the adequacy of core personality constructs is called into serious question.

9. Attitudes - Numerous studies have demonstrated the importance of social influence on the formation and changing of attitudes. Deutsch and Collins (1951) found that racial prejudice decreased when individuals lived together as peers in an integrated housing development. Such a decrease did not occur in segregated housing. Newcomb (1943) in a study of the effects of college life on student attitudes found that the greater the involvement in college life, the greater was the acceptance of liberal opinions which characterized the college. Hyman and Sheatsley (1947) discussed some of the reasons for the discrepancies between the radical changes in attitudes that can be induced in the laboratory and the relatively minor changes that result from information campaigns. They suggest that when individuals are forced to consider incongruent opinions, they are vulnerable to change, as in the laboratory situation. However, the individual in a free situation tends to expose himself selectively to information which is congruent with his prior beliefs. Another example of selective exposure is during the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates (MacCoby/Kretch et al., 1962, p. 235). Even when forced to consider opposing views as in these debates, individuals were able to filter out the opposing views by such mechanisms as talking, beer drinking, and other distracting behavior. In summary, a crucial variable in the stability of attitudes is effectiveness of the selective exposure mechanism. In general, studies of attitude changes have demonstrated by systematic manipulation of the variables of "who" says "what" to "whom" that attitudes are amenable to social influence.

10. Self-Esteem - Few studies have been or can be conducted to demonstrate the relationship of the social milieu to one's self-esteem. Guthrie (1938) describes a quasi experiment in which a group of men improved self-esteem and popularity of an unattractive and shy girl by showing her a good deal of atten-

tion. After the semester was over, the popularity and new found confidence remained. Griffin (1961) in his book Black Like Me provides an excellent narrative account of the new and unaccustomed impact of the new environment of a black man who was formerly white. With the mere changing of skin color the man was exposed to a vastly new set of social encounters and experiences which changed his personality, particularly his self-esteem.

Numerous other studies from the literature of group dynamics (McGrath and Altman, 1966) and the theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957), etc. could be cited as evidence that much of the stability of personality is contingent upon the uniformity of forces in the life space of the individual. Personality can be seen in a dynamic equilibrium with the environment, and it is a process continually influenced by the field of social forces in the life space.

In summary, the notion of personality as an essentially fixed entity or determined at relatively early ages, can be seriously questioned. If it can be demonstrated that the perception, emotion, motivation, social control, attitudes, cognitions, behavior, and self-esteem can be dramatically influenced in current situations, one is left with the question of what residuals of personality are not amenable to social influence. The theoretical significance of this question is obvious as is its practical implications from the point of view of therapeutic and rehabilitative programs. While relatively little is known about changing basic personality structure, far more is known about changing behavior, attitudes, motivations, etc. One can't help but ask whether the more short-term goals of influencing these aspects of personality might well be more fruitful than the long-term efforts (of questionable prognosis) to influence possibly non-existent core personality structures. In terms of psychology-anthropology, it would seem that the relationship between social systems and personality might be more fruitfully explored by considering the forces in the life space of the individual rather than stretching to the breaking point the explanatory powers of ontogenetic theories which give us extremely tenuous explanations of adult personality as it is related to the nature and function of modal personalities.

Lest the pendulum of our thinking be encouraged to swing too far in the opposite direction, the evidence from social psychology should be considered only with many reservations. Rosenthal (1968) in examining the nature of the experimental situation itself has demonstrated that subjects can in subtle ways be "tipped" to the hypothesis being tested as a result are more likely to yield results which corroborate the experimental hypotheses. Clearly, the force field of the experimental situation itself needs to be examined. A review of the above experiments might suggest that people, or at least subjects, are infinitely malleable. However, these experiments have dealt with isolated aspects of personaltiy, one at a time, and have not attempted to influence entire personalities. Another fundamental question regards the salience of experimental situations. In studies of attitude change, the subjects of the attitude change were often such trivial issues as whether or not movies would be replaced by television, etc. It may be that given the trivial nature of the topics, experimental inductions are exaggerated because people are willing to acquiesce to changes in the field of forces, which they would not do in the case of extremely salient topics. The validity and generalizability of social psychological experiments are questionable because of the possibility of biased samples. Probably, "American social psychology" is, in fact, the social psychology of college students in psychology course subject pools. Acquiescence-prone college students, amenable to the randomization of the typical analysis of variance-designed experiments, and enmeshed as such in experimenting, may have erroneously given credence to the notion that people in general are infinitely malleable. The thousands of experiments in social psychology have not been organized into a uniform theory of social influence and its relationship to personality. The experiments are often unrelated and isolated and defy comparative evaluation, much less replication. If social psychology is to move in the direction of greater relevance, it seems necessary that greater use be made of field experiments, because the experimental laboratory is clearly suspect as a source of many elusive experimental artifacts. Field experiments can manipulate real life variables and isolate their effects with randomization, as in the use of the waiting list of control groups. The process of self-selection also bears scrutiny to help partial out that component of stability of personality which is dependent upon the individual's seeking support for this existing personality. It may be that our most powerful predictive instruments are not as accurate as the self-selection process. Individuals seem skillful in their ability to arrange their lives so that they find support for their attitudes, motivations, interpersonal skills, etc. A variety of cognitive mechanisms can function to filter and reinterpret the force field so as to minimize its power to evoke radical changes in personality. One final consideration in the evaluation of social psychology experiments is the level of personality. It may be that different theories of personality address themselves to different levels of personality. The ontogenetic theories, for example, seem to refer to deep-core character aspects of personality, while the study of attitudes is more superficial and thus more amenable to social influence. Except for extremely deviant cases, the concept of anal personality is of little use in understanding one's attitudes, styles of interpersonal relations,and some motivations. Such aspects of personality being more amenable to social influence are more adequately explained by the examination of the force field generated by the social structure at large and by the immediate social milieux. The relationships between the various levels of personality is of interest in order to determine their mutual influence on one another.

II. SOCIAL INFLUENCE AND POVERTY ADAPTATION

Interestingly the "folk psychology" of middle class Americans is strikingly congruent with that of academic social psychology. Contrary to ontogenetic theories of personality, many middle class individuals, and particularly parents, regard the individual as malleable and particularly vulnerable to deleterious social influence. They often engage in numerous elaborate maneuverings in order to provide the proper kinds of social influence for their children at all ages. It is often regarded as an unequivocable truth that an elementary school teacher, improperly motivated and embroiled in an ego battle with a young child, can destroy his opportunities for acceptance to a good college. Similarly, the needs for stylish clothes,straight teeth and cosmetic surgery are often justified as being crucial to the self-esteem and social acceptance of the youngster. Peer group influence is considered vastly important. Evoking the standard of the American daughter, it is often assumed that no amount of happy family life or a smooth progression through the stages of psycho-sexual development can deter a well-bred daughter from a wasted life if she comes home on the back of a Hell's Angel's motorcycle or flirts with that 'Pied Piper of Hamlin" known as the East Village. Records of delinquent behavior are assumed to be of vast significance and are usually suppressed in order to mitigate the effects of such a stigma. Adults are also regarded as vulnerable to deleterious social influence, as in the case of the alcoholic man who uses alcohol as an escape from business pressures or the bored housewife who quite understandably indulges in promiscuity or frantic social activities to allay the boredom of her empty life.

Contradictorily, when it comes to an understanding of the poor, the middle class often adopts more ontogenetic explanations which do not emphasize the deleterious effects of inadequate schools, police brutality, lack of job opportunity, discrimination, the pushing of drugs, and the active procuring of young girls, etc. For some reason, these deleterious influences are essentially disregarded and emphasis on defective characterological traits, such as inherent laziness, hedonism, immorality, violence, etc. is the alternative. Clearly, such often well-articulated theories of personality are not scientific in that they attempt to explain human behavior consistently, but instead are, on one hand, a part of an elaborate rationale and justification for the middle class social rituals, and, on the other hand, used to reinforce negative stereotypes of the poor.

A hypothetical experiment which would allow researchers to evaluate ontogenetic vs. social adaptations of personality would be a transposition of groups of middle class and poverty people to different environments. An independent variable in such a social experiment could be the age at the time of transplanting. If, for example, adult males were given black skin colors and deprived of proof of their educational accomplishments, etc. one might find them becoming increasingly depressed, frustrated, and angry and adopting the "cool stud syndrome" to enhance their own faltering self-esteem. Unquestionably, if infants were transposed there would be no doubt into which culture they would be enculturated. Groups of individuals would, of course, be necessary to avoid confusion concerning the role of social influence in regard to exceptional people who are capable of overcoming any circumstances with their unique capabilities and inner directedness. The important question regarding social influence and adaptation to poverty would be the extent and nature of the adaptation of groups of "average individuals" as they respond to the forces that impinge upon the individual from poverty milieux.

In conclusion, this section has sought to redirect attention to that relatively neglected aspect of personality, namely its on-going response and adaptation to the force field generated by social systems. An important component of the stability of that constellation of psychological traits, which is personality, is its continual adaptation to relatively similar social milieux. It would seem that a more accurate and certainly more useful theory of personality vis a vis social systems would regard the personality as relatively autonomous (Rapaport, 1951), that is as being neither solipsistic and determined solely by intrapsychic forces as in the case of autism, nor as being totally other directed and responding passively to all social forces, a state which is approximated in hypnotic trances. Personality is clearly influenced by both intrapsychic forces, and forces generated by the social system and the social milieu, but it is the latter that has been neglected.

II. THE CONFLICT OF POVERTY

Granting for the moment that such forces can be capitalized on in a program for poverty boys, the critical question remains of how effective a program can be in influencing personality in the course of one relatively brief interlude in the life of the individual. There may be superficial changes of brief duration, but can a program influence the individual significantly and permanently? If personality is being continually shaped out so as to be functionally attuned to the environment, then one brief experience in the individual's life would seem incapable of having a lasting or profound effect. However, such an answer assumes that the individual is adapted to and totally accepting of a life of poverty. Such a simplistic view is probably not justified since undoubtedly the individual is enculturated in the values, behaviors, and perceptions, etc. of both worlds. He is in conflict with the dominant culture of the success-oriented American culture and the subculture of poverty, which has its own satisfactions and way of life. If this conflict exists, then presumably changes can be induced by shifting the balance of this double approach-avoidance conflict (Lewin, 1955) and (Miller, 1944) that the poverty accepting person is in.

Stated differently, the paradox of the poverty accepting boy is like that of the ship-wrecked mariner, who says that "the rock on which I flounder is the rock to which I cling." The poverty boy is in a state of quasi-stationary equilibrium. The task of the treatment program is then to shift the balance of the conflict, rather than to create de novo another kind of personality adapted to the non-poverty world. The more precarious the balance, the greater the chances for change.

Before discussing the different valences in the approach-avoidance conflict, the evidence for the existence of valences toward a non-poverty life needs to be considered. The evidence seems to indicate that in fact poverty boys are encultured in the values, goals, motivations, and behaviors of the non-poverty world and that they do have competing reference groups. Cohen, in his book The Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang (1955) argues that disadvantaged boys are very much aware of the success-oriented dominant culture, partly due to the efforts of advertising, the mass media, movies, songs, and numerous contacts with or exposures to the non-poverty world. He argues that the vandalism of delinquents is a type of group reaction formation in which the boys reject those things that they, realistically, have little hope of attaining. It is true that the most sophisticated and powerful industry in the world focuses many of its seductive messages on the lesser educated and poorer segments of the population, and that undoubtedly this effort does in fact disseminate the predominant American goals and values to the poverty classes. The poverty boy has numerous other contacts, often unpleasant ones, with other disseminators of the non-poverty values, such as the schools. The obvious concern with clothes, cars, being "cool", etc. seems to indicate that poverty boys are influenced by the dominant culture. They may rebel against those standards that define them as failures (Cohen, 1955), or develop alternate means for achieving economic success (Merton, 1957, pp. 131-194) and (Cloward, 1959, pp. 164-176). In either case the partial acceptance, at least, of the dominant success-oriented culture is suggested in the responses of poverty or delinquent boys, thus indicating that poverty boys are in an approach-avoidance conflict with respect to the poverty way of life and the success-oriented life of the non-poverty culture. If this is correct, then programs that seek to free the boys from the constraints imposed by a poverty adapted personality have only to shift the balance of forces in the conflict over poverty rather than to reshape personality.

The strategy of breaking the poverty cycle is to reduce the valences toward accepting the poverty way of life and increasing the aversion to it, while simultaneously increasing the valences toward a non-poverty life and reducing the aversion to a non-poverty life. This is the specific goal and the theoretical formulation of the Sage Hill Camp program.

The following paradigm attempts to show some of the more salient valences of the conflict of the poverty-accepting boy:

POVERTY ACCEPTING	NON-POVERTY ACCEPTING
1) satisfactions of poverty way of life	1) economic success
2) reference group is the poverty accepting membership group and protects from sense of failure	2) personal success according to non-poverty standards
3) reaction formation against society (Cohen, 1955)	3) fuller self actualization
4) freedom from success struggle	4) greater personal freedom
5) the goals are congruent with apparent opportunity	5) acceptance in non-poverty culture

POVERTY REJECTING	NON-POVERTY REJECTING
1) failure by non-poverty standards	1) failures in non-poverty attempts
2) realization of short term gains only are available in poverty	2) lack of preparation for non-poverty life, e.g. skills, values, manners, clothes, etc.
3) lack of satisfactions available in poverty	3) rejection anticipated realistically
4) lack of acceptance by non-poverty people	4) alienation from peers
5) impediments to self actualization	

FIGURE I: Paradigm showing the balance of valences in the double approach-avoidance conflict of accepting poverty.

If the specific poverty perpetuating interpersonal skills, attitudes and motivations are maintained primarily through continual social pressure exerted by one's salient reference groups and membership groups, then removal of these social forces and the introduction of a new powerfield should, theoretically at least, be capable of inducing changes, capable of breaking the poverty cycle.

III. SHIFTING THE NET BALANCE OF VALENCES IN THE CONFLICT

There are, of course, many individuals whose adaptation to poverty is maintained not primarily by social pressure but by individual's personality needs. In other words, the acceptance of poverty is based on the personality functions rather than on an adaptation to the environment. In the case of these individuals, the motivations for the various poverty perpetuating aspects of personality have what Allport (1960, pp. 51-52) refers to as "perseverative functional autonomy" or those that function in the relatively closed system of personality, as opposed to the "propriate functional autonomy," of the open system of the individual responding to the environment.

The above paradigm of the conflict over poverty did not describe the role played by the critical attitudes, interpersonal skills, and motivations; and yet it is in these areas that the program seeks to induce the changes. This apparent contradiction is soluable in that the attitudes, etc. are the key to what the individual considers satisfying. For example, if as a result of the camp experience the boy develops more positive attitudes toward work and being self-reliant, this could reduce the appeal of the poverty peer group acceptance, whose attitudes toward work were derisive. Simultaneously these more positive attitudes could gain the individual greater acceptance and satisfaction in non-poverty milieu. In the following description of the camp's goals, the reader should consider how changes in these areas will lead the boy to resolve the conflict over accepting poverty by rejecting it and seeking non-poverty reference and membership groups.

Summarizing the theoretical rationale for a therapeutic summer camp for poverty boys the following propositions are presented:

1) A poverty boy's attitudes, interpersonal style of relating, and motivations are critical in affecting the outcome of implicit decisions that lead to the perpetuation of poverty.

2) These aspects of personality are most responsive to social pressures exerted through the poverty boy's reference and membership groups.

3) Poverty boys have dual membership and reference groups in both the poverty and non-poverty worlds and this results in a double approach-avoidance conflict between the poverty and non-poverty worlds.

4) The nature of the countervailing forces in this conflict are such that the critical factors affecting areas of personality (i.e., that are poverty perpetuating) result in a balance that is precariously tipped toward the poverty perpetuating life.

5) This balance can be shifted by the imposition of new social forces mediated through the reference and membership groups of the Sage Hill Camp program.

6) The changes that are induced during the camp experience will be maintained by keeping the camp group together during the school year, thus supporting the individual when he is re-exposed to the pressures of poverty perpetuating reference groups.

7) The camp experience will occur at a stage in the life of the individual, between fourteen and sixteen years of age, when he is still amenable to change and is preparing to make key decisions, that will affect his outcome.

As stated above, specific skills, attitudes, and motivations are deemed crucial to the perpetuating of poverty for the individual boy. The goals of the program are to influence the following aspects of personality in order to break the poverty cycle:

Attitudes

1. Improve and develop more positive attitudes toward work.
2. Develop more positive and appropriately differentiated attitudes toward authority; e.g., not all authority is inherently persecuting and arbitrary.
3. Develop the attitude that it is the individual's resposibility both to create and to capitalize on his life's chances.
4. Develop an appropriately realistic attitude toward life; i.e., counteract unrealistic optimism or pessimism.
5. Develop positive attitudes toward cooperation, organization, and the rights of others.
6. Lessen inappropriate and stereotyped antisocial attitudes.
7. Improve self esteem.

Interpersonal Skills

The camp program evokes certain types of interpersonal relations which facilitate the achieving of group and individual goals. These relations are used to develop interpersonal skills, which will act as prototypes for later non-poverty style interpersonal relations. These skills are learned in a rewarding and salient context and are as follows:

1. Improve cooperation.
2. Develop interpersonal give and take appropriate to the pursuit of goals.
3. Develop more accurate interpersonal perception.
4. Develop appropriate assertive and compliant behavior.
5. Develop sensitivity to the rights and needs of others.
6. Develop the ability to organize and work in a group effort.
7. Teach how to get along, i.e. "the ropes" of the non-poverty world.

Motivation

1. Develop the motivation for self actualization (Maslow, 1954).
2. Reduce inappropriate fear of rejection and failure.
3. Develop need achievement (McClelland, et al., 1953)
4. Develop need for and appreciation of honest, meaningful, and satisfying interpersonal relationships.

The above aspects of personality are the object of influence attempts in order to free the individual from the constraints imposed by a personality adapted and responsive to the poverty milieu. The influence attempts are mediated through the enjoyable and meaningful associations in the reference and membership groups of the camp. Thus, those areas of personality which are amenable to social influence will be influenced by the therapeutic milieu of the summer camp. It should be noted that these areas of personality are overlapping and that the influence of one should affect other areas. A change in the quality of interpersonal relations should change relevant attitudes and motivations. The influence exerted by the milieu will impinge on the individual so that "living in a setting which can modify in its totality the corresponding totality of the child's whole existence" (Bettelheim and Sylvester, 1949, p. 56). The aim of the camp program is to create and use a social milieu that will facilitate and promote the above changes.

Kelman (1961) has differentiated three types of attitude change: namely, compliance, identification, and internalization. The latter, which is the most enduring type of change, is defined as follows:

> Finally, internalization can be said to occur when an individual accepts influence because the induced behavior is congruent with his value system. It is the content of the induced behavior that is intrinsically rewarding here. The individual adopts it because he finds it useful for the solution of a problem, or because it is congenial to his own orientation, or because it is demanded by his own values--in short, because he perceived it as inherently conducive to the maximization of his values. The characteristics of the influencing agent do play an important role in internalization, but the crucial dimension here--as we shall see below--is the agent's credibility, that is, his relation to the content.

This is the type of change that the camp program seeks to create because these changes are integrated into the person's values and offer a solution to his problems. In order for this type of change to be internalized, the program is designed to actualize the non-poverty aspect of the individual. This means that the program is individualized so as to be relevant to the interests, capabilities, problems, and motivations of the camper. The chances of success will be enhanced by such an individualized approach to actualizing the non-poverty aspects of personality, as opposed to an attempt to impose a set of alien values, motivations, and skills on the camper.

The value judgment is made that a poverty adapted personality is one that is severely constrained by the presses (Kluckhohn and Murray, 1959, pp. 3-49) of the poverty milieu. The program seeks to increase the non-poverty actualization of the individual so as to allow the individual to choose a way of life, rather than have that choice imposed by the social forces of the poverty milieu. The process of self-actualization is comparable to the way that Michelangelo described his art, when he said that he did not carve men but uncovered them in blocks of stone. The camp program seeks to remove the environmental forces whose outcome is often the acceptance of poverty while helping the individual actualize his potential for a life in the non-poverty culture.

Some of the primary techniques used to shift the net balance in the double approach-avoidance conflict of poverty boys are described as follows:

IV. SHIFTING THE BALANCE OF VALENCES IN THE DOUBLE APPROACH-AVOIDANCE CONFLICT IN ACCEPTING POVERTY

Reducing the approach and avoidance valence of accepting poverty.

1) A program isolated in the mountains far from the street corner influences can do relatively little to directly change the valences of accepting or rejecting of poverty. However, both the approach and the avoidance gradients decrease the further the person is from the goals (Miller, 1944). Upon coming to the camp, the poverty boy is physically and to a large extent psychologically removed from the poverty perpetuating milieu.

2) The campers for the most part do not know each other and as a result have not had the opportunity to establish themselves as a group, even though they share a similar poverty background. When the new boys come to the camp,

they are met by a junior counselor who lives in the same tent with the new campers for about a week or until they select and build a tent site of their own. During this time they are exposed to the influence of the junior counselors whose duty it is to "break in" the new campers or, in other words, transmit the camp norms which are designed to affect behavior crucial to the maintenance of the poverty cycle. (These norms and behavior are elaborated later.) This use of the buddy system is designed to influence poverty perpetuating behavior. These forces are introduced when the boy is in a state of flux, and in time to prevent the formation of ~~a~~ group which will insulate the members from the influences toward a non-poverty life.

Indirectly the program can increase the aversion to poverty and -decrease the acceptance of poverty by increasing the appeal of the non-poverty way of life. If as a result of the camp experience, needs for self actualization, self reliance, and need achievement are aroused, then poverty will become a source of frustration. Similarly if attitudes are changed, then the old poverty perpetuating attitudes will seem self defeating, inappropriate, etc. In this way changes that are induced by the social influences of the camp and which are maintained by the camp-reference and membership groups during the year, will create an antagonism to the poverty reference group. If the returning camper has the support of a non-poverty peer group, i.e. the camp group, then the appeals of the poverty groups will also be diminished. It is in this indirect way that the valences regarding poverty are affected by the camp program. This will become more evident as the influences designed to reduce the aversion to non-poverty and to increase the appeal of a non-poverty life are described.

Reducing the avoidance valences of the non-poverty life

Many "War on Poverty" programs result in, as the punch line of a joke goes, with the poor fighting back. The attempts to change poverty people are often perceived as attacks on them, which seriously mitigates the effectiveness of any program. The Sage Hill Camp program specifically seeks to avoid such attacks and where attempts at influence are made, they are not made in demeaning and hostile ways. A crucial and all too often overlooked defensive function of the poverty boy's cynicism, apathy, antisocial attitudes, being cool, etc., is that it insulates him from a sense of failure. The techniques of establishing rapport by avoiding attacking the poverty boy also reduce the avoidance valence of the non-poverty culture. The program seeks to remove many of the barriers that the poverty boy encounters—and is overwhelmed by in his efforts at gaining acceptance in the non-poverty world, such as school. The camp experience seeks to provide a prototype of the experiences that a boy will encounter in the non-poverty world, with the exception that it avoids the alienation and antagonization of its participants by making demands in accordance with the capabilities of the boy. In order to reduce the avoidance valence of the conflict about non-poverty life, the following approaches are taken:

1) All campers are told that they will be earning their camp fee by working on the camp projects and doing their share of the camp chores. This is done to avoid the initial resentment of receiving a "dole" and to enhance the value of the camp experience by having paid half of the fee. They also receive $1.50 per week as allowance for their work.

2) The program attempts to start where the boy is. This means that his lack of verbal skill, his lack of middle class manners, his swearing, his un-

trusting and cynical attitudes, his bravado about how good it is not to be "square", are accepted, though not necessarily approved of. The program avoids, even under deliberate provocation, a confrontation between poverty and non-poverty values, which might lead to a battle over which way is better. The staff lets the camp's norms and values speak for themselves. They are an integral part of an enjoyable experience, and it is better to let the campers discover this rather than have the staff impose them by logic, force, and threat.

3) There is inherently a wide gulf between the subculture of poverty (Reissman, 1962) and the culture of the non-poverty world. The early faltering and sometimes ridiculous efforts to cross this gulf are taken seriously, rewarded, and never scorned. A consistent effort is made to avoid evaluation in success-failure terms. This appears crucial to reducing the avoidance valence, as poverty boys usually have a long history of failure and rejection in their efforts to conform to a non-poverty way of life.

4) The camp's staff make a conscious effort to avoid lecturing the campers with regard to doing chores, cooperating, getting along with others, etc. Instead, it seeks in nonverbal ways to engender these attitudes. For example, cooperation is not the subject of lectures but one of the functional prerequisites of the program. Boys are allowed to select a site for their leanto or tent platform, to choose a tentmate, and to build a structure. Having made these voluntary choices, cooperation follows naturally between the tentmates on an exciting and meaningful project, which provides the first lesson in cooperation for the new camper.

Similarly, the camp seeks to circumvent the negative criticism of the program by allowing the campers to organize and supervise many of the camp's activities. The boys are told that part of their contract with the camp is that they do their share of the chores and work on different projects. The campers are given the responsibility of organizing and supervising the work. They devise their own schedules for working in the kitchen, doing dishes, preparing the nightly campfire, burning garbage, etc. As a result, they are far less likely to criticize their own organization and enforcement procedures and come rather quickly to the conclusion that an appropriate amount of organization and cooperation is necessary and will be of direct benefit to them. By creating a situation where the desired behavior is a functional prerequisite the negative criticisms of the organization, supervision, allocation of responsibilies, etc. can be circumvented. This helps to get the campers to discover for themselves what we want to teach them. This self discovery is more difficult to negate when one has seen the evidence, organized the defense, and proselytized on behalf of the organization and cooperation.

In summary, the camp seeks to avoid alienating and antagonizing the campers by refusing to put the camp experience in a "dole" or patronizing context and by respecting the cultural heritage of the poverty boy (Spiro, 1951, pp. 36-39) i.e., his values, mannerisms, etc. The experiences that he encoumters are designed to be challenging but not frustrating. The staff avoids assaults on the integrity and dignity of the boys. When the camp attempts to teach the values of cooperation, organization, etc., it does so by putting the boys in a situation where these things are appropriate, efficient, and beneficial to them, allowing them to discover for themselves the values that the camp is trying to inculcate. These are the truths that the individual must personally rediscover and such discoveries they are more willing to accept.

Increasing the approach valences of the non-poverty life

The major thrust of the camp's program is to increase the approach valence to the non-poverty world. This can be accomplished by the creation and use of a non-poverty reference and membership group to mediate the social influences which impinge upon those aspects of personality which are critical in the implicit decisions to accept poverty. This group mediated social pressure is necessary for influencing the motivations, attitudes, interpersonal skills, etc. so as to break the poverty cycle. While the group will be a primary agent in social influence, it will not be overlooked that each boy brings to the camp a distinctly unique personality, skills, interests, and cultural heritage which must be capitalized on if the camp is to be effective in helping the boy actualize his non-poverty potential. With these considerations in mind, the following techniques are used by the camp's program:

1. The attempt to describe and analyze the techniques of social influence will necessarily put out of focus the stream of events as they occur. From the camper's point of view, the summer is exciting, with much hard work on meaningful and exciting projects, often of one's own choosing, numerous backpacking trips, and a wide variety of other interesting activities, The cooperation, organization and esprit de corps are a natural outcome of the activities and the congenial relationships. The social influence is part of the warp and woof of the camp's social fabric, rather than being an obtrusive, inappropriate and artificial intrusion into the flow of events.

The camp's work program is the core of the efforts to shift the balance in the poverty conflict. Here the boys learn some of the basic skills necessary for future career possibilities. More importantly though they learn many of the interpersonal skills which are important for breaking the poverty cycle. They learn techniques for organizing a group effort, cooperating with one another, and learning how to get along with others. Intimately related to the learning of these skills is the developing of more positive attitudes toward work, the rights of others, authority, and a breaking down of their stereotyped and inappropriate antisocial attitudes. Another response to the experiences of these projects is to develop needs for self actualization, mastery over the environment, and need achievement. All three areas of change are interrelated, and changes in one result in changes in the others. Changes induced in such a context, are most likely to be internalized which is necessary for breaking the poverty cycle.

To date, the most exciting, dramatic, and challenging project has been the building of a three story pre-cut log cabin which entailed the excavating of a foundation with a D 4 bulldozer, the putting up of some 1,300 cement block for the foundation, the pouring of a four inch slab of concrete for the floor and the erecting of the cabins' floors and log sides. Another project that was popular with the boys was the use of the D 4 bulldozer for improving about one mile of the camp road. Some of the other projects which have been undertaken have been the building of a temporary kitchen, dining-room, a basketball court, and some twelve tent platforms. In the course of this project the boys learned many of the the basics of masonry, carpentry, building, plumbing, roofing, etc. While the staff felt some obligation to restrain their amazement about the success of the project, and the accomplishment of the boys, neither the boys nor some of the representatives of the referring agencees felt such restraint. Looked at individually one would be inclined to think that the poor functioning of these boys, several of whom were delinquents, would severely curtail such an undertaking.

They were caught up in the esprit de corps of such a project which enhanced their self-esteem, and showed them very vividly just how capable they were. The stories of the projects have grown a bit, but the fact remains that these boys and the counselors built a summer camp without any outside help, and most important they loved it.

There are of course a limited number of such dramatic projects that can be undertaken, but other activities are planned which will provide similar types of training and social experiences. They include such projects as the maintenance of the camp's road, the surveying of the camp's property, clearing some brush from a former logging operation, and continuing conservation projects started. There are usual chores of cutting wood, spending a day working in the kitchen, and building the new tent platforms or leantos. Each year new campers are expected to select a site, haul the materials, and build either a wooden tent platform for their two man tent or a leanto in which they will live. Such a project elicits cooperation and allows the teaching of some of the basics of carpentry. Not many boys these days have such an opportunity to build their own place to live, and these boys have enjoyed this particular project thoroughly.

The effort is not made to make boys into key punch operators, clerks, or other specifically middle class occupations. The campers are not in the least discouraged from these types of careers but they are not promoted actively. In general, if a boy shows an interest in any legitimate career the program seeks to encourage his exploration of it and will try to provide some appropriate experience and training. Some contacts have been made with local garages, ranches, restaurants, etc., which have been helpful in providing some training and experience. These resources will be expanded and eventually used for finding more permanent jobs for boys.

Education is of course crucial for social mobility, but is also a source of great antagonism for many poverty boys, because school has been an unpleasant and often humiliating experience, due to a large extent to their lack of adequate preparation. Boys upon arrival at camp are often leery of any attempts to push school because of the obvious importance that it plays in the l[illegible] of the staff. It is deemed more useful not to force the issue of school for f[illegible] of arousing too much resentment. Instead the attempt is made to create an [illegible]terest in the projects and to develop interest, capability, and motivation for upward social mobility. Once this occurs the need for school usually becomes apparant. When, as, and if such an interest in school does develop it is made clear that tutoring and help with academic subjects is available, and help and support are provided upon request. As in the work projects, the academic work is designed to avoid failure-producing experiences.

2. Each boy brings brings to the camp an unique set of assets in terms of technical skills, interpersonal skills, interests, ideas, abilities, etc. The camp immediately tries to ascertain what these are and to capitalize on them. Rather than starting by changing so-called undesirable traits, the camp addresses itself to the boy's strengths and assets and asks him to contribute to the group effort. If a boy has skills in leadership, carpentry, automobile mechanics, or an interest in photography, nature study, rock and roll, or what have you, the camp seeks to bring it out and make use of it. In this way, the chances of obtaining a non-threatening entre to the boy are increased. Throughout his

camp experience, the consistent effort is made to help him develop, make use of, and contribute his ideas, skills, and interests to a group effort. One way a boy's skills are used is in teaching them, which has often the dramatic effect of creating a more sympathetic and responsive student in him because he soon deduces the value of cooperation, organization, and a minimum of order. In this way the camp seeks to win the confidence of the campers and to convince him that participation and cooperation in the group effort is both enjoyable and beneficial to his own interests.

3. A major problem for any program that seeks to involve its participants is the availability of tasks that are suited to the individual's interest, capabilities, and competance. Analogous to dart throwing, the task must not be like stabbing a bullseye from one inch away, as are many of the obvious confidence building projects; similarly, they must not be like throwing darts from a hundred yards away, as are some of the "sink or swim" type projects. A program must provide a wide variety of tasks and activities that are both appealing and challenging. At Sage Hill such tasks include the building of cabins and leantos, working on roads, surveying, and tinkering with a variety of mechanical things, etc. There are also numerous conservation and forestry projects, nature studies, musical activities (which has produced numerous rock and roll tapes), and, in short, almost any feasible activity which is appealing. Parenthetically, it should be noted that not having the money to have the camp built for us was a distinct advantage because the boys have an investment in the camp that they helped build.

Typical of the response to this type of work project was that of a very shy, timid, and somewhat frail boy. One day while I was cutting logs with a chain saw for a tent platform, this boy was watching with obvious envy. I asked if he would like to run the chain saw; he admitted with some hesitation that he would. When he was finished, he turned off the saw, put it on the ground, and started pounding his chest and yelling like a gorilla. This was almost totally out of his apparent character. There were many such responses to the different projects. Lest the ruggedness of the projects be overemphasized, there are numerous projects suited to the boy who is more interested in creative projects, tinkering, and finishing work, etc.

4. Returning to the basic assumption of the approach-advoidance conflict of the poverty boy, it was stated that crucial to the tipping of the balance in favor of accepting the poverty way of life were specific attitudes, interpersonal relations and motivations. These aspects of personality are most amenable to change because of their responsiveness to the social forces of the milieu. If these critical areas are in fact responsive to social influence, then important changes can be induced by the "significant others" (Sullivan, 1953) and the reference group of the camp (Merton, 1957, pp. 225-286) and (Sherif and Sherif, 1964) through their exerting influence in a non-poverty direction and thus shifting the balance in the double approach-avoidance conflict. If the barriers to the non-poverty world are temporarily lowered in the camp experience, then the boy could develop the attitudes, inter-personal skills, and motivations necessary for a satisfying life in the non-poverty world. The camp seeks to provide the prototype of these adaptive traits and hopefully open up new experience which will then maintain a more satisfying non-poverty life.

These changes are induced by the social influences exerted largely by the peer group. For this group pressure to be maximally effective in changing attitudes (also interpersonal skills and motivation), Cartwright (1951) suggests that the following conditions obtain:

1) Members must have a strong sense of belonging to the group.
2) Members must consider the group attractive.
3) The more relevant the group to the attitudes to be changed, then the greater the change in those attitudes.
4) The group should be prestigeful to the members.
5) The group should resist changes toward deviate attitudes.
6) Members of the group need to share the perception that the changes of attitudes are desirable.
7) Information regarding the changes of attitudes and its consequences should be shared by relevant members of the group.
8) Changes in parts of the group create strains which need to be eliminated or dealt with by a realigning of the parts of the group.

For the most part these conditions do obtain, making this source of influence effective.

For this influence to be effective and to create internalized changes (Kelman, 1961), within the individual, there must be a receptivity to the influence on the part of the individual. The basis of the internalization is that the influences are seeking to create changes that are congruent with pre-existing but latent non-poverty aspects of personality. These changes can help to solve the problems of the poverty adapted boy as he seeks to break away from poverty influences. This latent predisposition to a non-poverty life is crucial to the effectiveness of the new social forces in the camp's milieu. These influences are exerted largely by the reference and membership group of the campers. This camp group is both a source of salient influences and a maintainer of changes after the camp session. Counselors will be hired to keep the group together during the school year by taking campers on trips, skiing, camping, and to the movies, etc. The group is crucial to maintaining the changes and avoiding the fade out that occurs after the summer camp experience. There is experimental evidence that the Asch effect (1959) is greatly mitigated if the subject has allies to support him. Similarly the obedience that Milgram (1965) observed was also mitigated by the support of others who refused to comply with the authority. Most relevant, perhaps, are the studies such as Kelley and Volkart (1952) who found that group anchored attitudes were more resistant to change. The camper peer group functions in a similar way by counteracting the effects of the poverty membership and reference groups.

This group influence is brought to bear most visibly during the evening meeting at the campfire, where everyone is allowed and expected to bring up things that bother him, to make suggestions, or to comment on the camp program. At this time he is expected to speak candidly on any subject, and all the individuals involved are given an opportunity to reply. The subjects have included such things as planning trips and projects, suggestions for improving the program, and the interpersonal conflicts. In addition to group meetings there are numerous other opportunities on jobs, trips, in the kitchen, to exert influence on the new campers to change from the sullen, aloof, cynical, and apathetic behavior and become a more involved, active, and cooperating member of the camp.

This peer group pressure is effective in enforcing the group norms, some of which are that:

1) Everyone takes his turn in doing camp chores such as working in in the kitchen, building the evening campfire, and keeping the area cleaned up.
2) Everyone has the right to be heard and is entitled to his own opinion.
3) Physical force and intimidation are proscribed as a means of settling disputes, and individuals are expected to talk out their conflicts.
4) Individuals working on a project should cooperate with the others and do their share. If they do not want to work on some project they should make this known, and if possible, other arrangements will be made.
5) Decisions that affect campers will be discussed openly and opinions of all involved will be taken into account in the final decision. Group decisions are binding on all matters except where they infringe on the legal responsibility of the camp.

The effectiveness of the group pressure was demonstrated in an evening meeting last summer when a smaller and younger boy complained that another boy was incessantly telling stories of his delinquent exploits. His statement elicited similar feeling on the part of other campers, and group pressure was brought to bear effectively on the delinquent boy, to stop his bragging.

It is assumed that if the camper participates actively in the program and cooperates in the group effort and accepts the group norms, this will influence him to change his attitudes, interpersonal relations, and motivations in a way which will help him to break the poverty cycle.

It should be recalled, that one of the techniques for reducing the valences of the non-poverty life was to require that the campers develop their own organization and supervision for the doing of their camp chores. In addition to this, the campers are brought into the planning and supervision of the camps activities, work projects, and trips. This involvement results in a greater acceptance of group decisions regarding organization, supervision, cooperation, etc.

5) The junior counselors play an important part in the creating and using of group pressure to influence the new campers. These counselors are chosen from the former campers on the basis of leadership skills, mechanical aptitude and skills, and their general contribution to the camp. This junior counselor program provides the camper an opportunity for advancement, to earn a modest salary, and to gain prestige. It provides the program with a means for controlling the group pressures and norms. It also provides role models for the new campers. These models are peers in the sense of coming from the same poverty backgrounds and being similar to the campers in age, interests, and to some extent, in values. These are effective in setting a

good example, i.e., transmitting the new norms, not solely because they are hired to do this but because they have a vested interest in the camp that they helped build, and which is an important source of satisfaction, security, and continuity in their lives. They therefore have a vested interest in maintaining the group with which they are closely identified.

This acting as a role model has had dramatic effects, as demonstrated by Cloward (1966). In this study, the effects of tutoring were found to improve the tutors reading ability. This held true for both high and low achieving tutors. It would seem to follow that enacting the role of a junior counselor should create and maintain changes in the attitudes, interpersonal skills, and motivation of the junior counselors, and thus be a continuation of efforts to break the poverty cycle for the junior counselors. The junior counselor program also provides training and experience that are designed to lead to possible careers in group work, community organization, or in the different care giving services of community mental health programs, etc. Some of these potential careers are described in Pearl and Reissman's book New Careers for the Poor (1965).

6) A major ingredient of the Sage Hill Camp program is the staff. While extensive use is made of peer group pressure, the staff play an important role in the attempts to influence the campers. The staff are young and enthusiastic and committed to the venture. Most are or have been students, and have had experience in residential treatment and/or have had training in psychology, psychiatry, social work, and the social sciences. They can receive academic credit for work at the camp as clinical training or for conducting research on residential treatment. The major criterion for the jobs is the ability to relate appropriately and in a meaningful way to poverty and/or disturbed boys. This type of relationship is supplemented by an intellectual awareness of the personality dynamics of the individual camper, and an understanding of the relationship of their personality to its enviornment. A knowledge of the dynamics of the camp's milieu as it relates to the attempts to influence campers, aids the work of the staff. Regular staff meetings are held in which each camper is discussed and a social milieu is then designed that is tailored to his idiosyncratic needs. These treatment plans are regularly discussed and reassessed. All of the senior staff are expected to be familiar with the individual strengths, weaknesses, needs and personality dynamics of each camper; and to work as part of an unified attempt to create and use a social milieu that fosters change in the individual camper.

There exists in the camp program the institution of camp "tie." During the course of the summer, individual campers and individual staff members develop particularly good relationships which are recognized and promoted, because stable and satisfying relationships are important to poverty boys whose relationships with adults have all too often been chaotic, unpleasant, and hurtful. Without showing inappropriate favoritism, the staff members develop the relationships by working together, acting as confidants, and generally helping the boys. These ties are often a satisfying part of the work experience of the counselor, and these relationships have been maintained during the school year. The use of the camp "tie" is of course an important part of the camp's attempts to use "significant others" (Sullivan, 1953) to break the poverty cycle.

When control is exerted by the staff it is usually done in a reasonable and predictable manner. The campers inevitably test the limits of the camp and discover that while they have a large say in their everyday activities and in general policy, there are firm and consistent limits set with regard to safety, the rights of others, and the legal responsibilities of the camp. Within these set limits the campers are allowed considerable freedom in their own activities, relationships, and projects. The limits are enforced in a clear and consistent manner, with the reasons being explained. There are occasional complaints, but for the most part they are eventually accepted and understood. These limits seem to be a source of security for some of the campers who are impulsive and frightened by too much freedom.

One of the techniques used by the senior staff is that of a marginal interview, which Bettelheim (1950, p. 35) describes as follows:

> A marginal interview, I might say here, is a conversation between the participant observer and one or more of the participants. It is interpretive in character but does not need to interfere with the momentary activity of the group or individual. The purpose may be to clear up an anxiety that interferes with enjoyment or participation in an activity, or it may be to warn the child of an unavoidable outcome of his behavior that he does not seem to forsee. The talk may simply help him to understand the reasons for his actions, or explain a piece of behavior in another individual that he seems to have misunderstood, etc. One characteristic of this type of marginal conversation is that while it may change the course of events, or the child's view of them, it does not replace the action; the emphasis is rather on their continuing without unnecessary interference. It should rather clear the blocked channels of solitary activity or social interaction, but never take their place.
>
> In this sense it is ego supporting, because it bolsters the ego in continuing the now more reality-correct activity. It does service for the child as in a better integrated child his own ego would serve him.

There are numerous opportunities in the camp's activities for such marginal interviews in the course of the activities. Where a more extensive discussion of the difficulties is called for, this can be arranged on a trip to town, a two man project, etc. These interviews are used by the staff as the occasion calls for them and are an inconspicious aspect of camp life. Marginal interviews are intended to be ego strengthening, improve self control and interpersonal skills, and help campers improve their self awareness.

Another technique used to teach some of the basics of interpersonal relations and perceptions is used when boys become embroiled in insoluable conflicts. They are asked to take the role of the other boys that is, to pretent they are the other boy. Once they have assumed these mental sets the conflict is gone over and explained by each boy acting the role of the other boy. As the course of events is told from the point of view of the other, the senior counselor functioning like an ego, tries to get the boys to recognize the misperceptions, the provocations, and the neglected use of alternative courses of action that might have solved the difficulties. The purpose of this technique is to deal with specific difficulties by creating a greater understanding and empathy on the part of those involved, and provide training in interpersonal skills and perceptions, which is helpful for the boys with poor ego functioning.

The staff offer group discussion to those boys who want to join a small group for the purpose of discussing topics of interest to the group. During these sessions they can air their difficulties, discuss common problems, such as career interests, sex, delinquency, family difficulties, etc. Participation in these groups is entirely voluntary. They are not designed as therapy groups, but are another resource for influencing those areas of personality crucial to the poverty cycle, and as an aid in problem solving for the campers.

7) This permisiveness is used to develop and make use of the individual's needs for self actualization. In effect the camp offers an environment that is sensitized to the individual's needs, capabilities, interests, and assets. The camp also actively promotes the development of these interests, and activities. The goal of the camp is to help the boys become as self reliant as possible, and this is facilitated by the program's efforts to continually show the individual what he can do and then give him just enough help so that he can accomplish this. In many ways the accepting of poverty is like a crutch, and the boys are encouraged to get along without it as soon as they can. This approach develops and makes use of the boys' needs for self actualization in order to motivate them to become more self reliant. As in the case with the boy using the chain saw, once boys get a taste of the better life they usually want more of it. This is probably the ultimate reason why a boy is willing to take on the struggle to break the poverty cycle. The individualized nature of the program allows the program to be tailored to the needs of the individual, and this enhances the chances that the boy will internalize the changes (Kelman, 1961) because the changes are congruent with his pre-existing but latent non-poverty potential and are extremely functional for problem solving in the non-poverty way of life. Initially a more "Montessori" like (Montessori, 1964) approach was taken, but this was discontinued for two important reasons. First, many campers did not have sufficient, existing interests, motivation and resources to make use of the freedom. Secondly, it appears that some of the campers misinterpreted this freedom as neglect, with which they had had bad experiences in the past. The final compromise was a structured program that was tailored to the needs, interests, and aptitudes of the campers. In addition to this, free time and materials are always available for campers to pursue their own interests singly or in a group. This approach is designed to develop needs for self actualization and achievement. These needs are critical for the receptivity to the camp's influences, and are the basis of the driving force needed to break the poverty cycle. Being so crucial, they are carefully nurtured.

It is interesting to note how many programs for children end up with a host of highly skilled staff doing things to and for the children. This program seeks to get the individuals to do as much as they can for themselves and takes pride in its ability to develop self reliance. Tasks are challanging but not overwhelming and reward and satisfaction are obtainable. Douvan (1956) in an experiment found that the need achievement of middle class children was aroused by the offer of reward and when the likelihood of no reward was present, while the need achievement of the working class children increased only in the reward condition. Apparently the likelihood of reward is important in arousing need achievement in poverty children, and this is what the program seeks to provide. The tasks are suited to the capabilities and interests of the individual and are geared to avoid producing failure, without being like stabbing the bullseye with a dart. On the other hand, we do not stand the boys on their own two feet by dropping them from a ten story building, as are like many of the programs to rework poverty people.

Starting where the boy is, the staff, tools, cameras, the land, the lumber pile, and the other resources are available for helping to develop the individual, as in the social milieu which is specifically designed to facilitate the self actualization of the non-poverty personality.

Summarizing the techniques used in the camp program to break the poverty cycle, the following influences have been added to the double approach-avoidance conflict of the poverty accepting boy. These techniques presuppose that the boy has an existing but latent non-poverty potential because he has, to some extent, been enculturated in the dominant non-poverty culture. The camp's program could not obviously acculturate a Greenland eskimo into the non-poverty American culture but it does set as its goal the shifting of the net valences in the double approach-avoidance conflict of accepting poverty. In bringing social influences to bear on the poverty boy, crucial aspects of personality that are relatively amenable to social pressure (i.e., poverty perpetuating attitudes, interpersonal skills, and motivations) are influenced in such a way as to alter the course of the poverty boy. This is done by increasing the appeals of the non-poverty life and decreasing its aversion. Simultaneously, and as a result of these new appeals, the appeals or approach valence of accepting poverty will be reduced and the aversion to poverty increased. The techniques of social influences employed in shifting the net balance of valences are presented schematically below.

REDUCING THE APPEAL OF POVERTY	INCREASING THE APPEAL OF THE NON-POVERTY WAY OF LIFE
1) removal from the poverty milieu	1) use of exciting and satisfying camp projects for providing a context for the influences
2) the opening up of more competitive appeals of non-poverty indirectly reduces the appeal of poverty	2) capitalizing on the assets and strengths of the campers rather than focusing on their weaknesses
	3) tailoring the social influence to the needs and interests of the individual camper
	4) the use of peer group pressure to induce changes
	5)the use of junior counselors to influence campers and act as role models
	6) the use of staff who are respected and considered friends to influence changes

INCREASING THE APPEAL OF THE NON-POVERTY WAY OF LIFE

7) the eliciting and development of need for self actualization and achievement

INCREASING THE AVERSION TO POVERTY

1) removal from the poverty milieu
2) the poverty milieu will be regarded as frustrating the newly developed non-poverty needs for achievement and self actualization

REDUCING THE AVERSION TO THE NON-POVERTY WAY OF LIFE

1) avoiding camper's initial hostility to the camp's influence by having them earn their camp fees
2) accepting the poverty boy's cultural heritage so that he can develop non-poverty skills for which the camp experience will provide a prototype
3) the avoidance of failure producing experiences
4) avoiding the antagonizing techniques of lecturing, haranguing, and intimidation, and using instead, situations which have as functional prerequisites the desired behavior, eg. cooperation.

In summary then, these are the social influences that are brought to bear on the campers in order to change the crucial poverty perpetuating attitudes, interpersonal skills, and motivations. These camp induced changes are then sustained by the group which is maintained at camp and during the school year as a non-poverty reference and membership group, which maintains the influences of a non-poverty social milieu.

Research Design

The Sage Hill Camp Program's approach to breaking the poverty cycle treats poverty essentially as a personal trouble rather than as a social issue (Mills, 1959, p. 8). It follows from this approach that poverty-perpetuating attitudes must change and that specific personal and technical skills must be taught in order to enhance the chances for upward social mobility. Most crucial to this means of breaking the poverty cycle is the development of need achievement and self actualization in order to provide the motivation necessary for the long and sustained efforts that is required. A program that seeks to break the poverty cycle in this way must develop effective means for influencing poverty boys. The techniques and rationale have been explicated in the previous section.

The attempts to evaluate action programs are fraught with difficulties because of the experimental limitations imposed by action programs; e.g., poor instrumentations to measure changes in individuals and lack of adequate control groups. The problems of evaluations are numerous and pervasive as has been discussed by Hyman (1963). However, the need for adequate evaluation is paramount in this time of action programs, particularly of the anti-poverty type. Several authors have suggested strategies to gain leverage on the evaluation of action programs, such as Hyman (1963) and Campbell (1963). Using the notational system of Campbell (1963) the following design was employed to evaluate the Sage Hill Camp Program. It should be noted that this design meets Klineberg's (1955) criteria for the scientific evaluative study; namely, that it be objective, systematic and comprehensive.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Colorado Camp 1967

May 1967		July 1967		August 1967		May 1968	
R O_1	X_1 (Camp)	O_2 O_{2A}		No follow.up program		O_4	No follow up
R O_1		O_2 O_{2A}	X_1	O_3 O_{3A}		O_4	program

Colorado Camp 1968

May 1968		June 1968		July 1968		May 1969	
O_1		O_2	X_1	O_3	X_2follow up program	O_4	

Vermont Camp 1968

May 1968		July 1968		August 1968		May 1968	
R_{O1}	X_1	O_2 O_{2A}			X_2follow up	O_4	available
R_{O1}		O_2 O_{2A}	X_1	O_3 O_{3A}	X_2follow up	O_4	available

X_2= experimental Camp session 'E'
R * Randomization
O = Observation on Pre of Post Test
X_2= experimental follow up

A waiting list control group was decided upon for essentially ethical reasons. It was felt that one could not ask subjects to take part in an experiment without providing the opportunity of the camp experience to them. For this reason boys were randomly assigned to either the first or second session of the camp program. This randomization occurred for all but a few subjects who either came late or were accepted for special reasons. In all cases where the tests of significance of change scores are computed, only those subjects who were randomly assigned to either the control or experimental group will be included in the analysis of the data. Subjects not included in this analysis include a retarded boy who was in a particularly desperate situation and who was capable of functioning at the camp but could not be included in the study. Similarly, a schizophrenic boy was accepted for the camp and as with the retardate was assigned to the second session and was not included in the analysis of change scores. Other boys not included were those who came in the second session without having taken the pre-control and post-control tests. Finally campers returning from the previous summers were not included in the analysis of change scores. Of the 84 campers who have attended the different camp sessions since 1966, only are included in this analysis. All of these subjects were within the normal range of intelligence, were in sufficiently good health to be accepted into the program, and did not show severe psychiatric impairment. Where boys did not remain at camp for the entire session, they are not included in the experimental analysis unless they did complete the control waiting period and left during the experimental session of camp. Their change scores for the control period were used and their camp change scores were deleted. This self selection out of the camp program is the one violation of randomization that did take place. In fact some boys chose not to come to camp at the conclusion of their waiting control period. The reasons for this and the biases that it may introduce are not fully understood. In general the major violation of randomization was a sorting out according to unknown variables: boys who decided not to come to camp and boys who left camp.

The Sample

As data was collected from a wide variety of locations and times, a breakdown of all of the boys who have attended the Sage Hill Camp Program since 1963 is provided below.

1. In the summer of 1966, 11 boys attended camp who were supplied by the Denver area Welfare Department and through local contacts. This group built the original camp and their breakdown according to ethnic background and number of boys who returned the following year is given below:

Colorado Camp 1966

	Attended 1966	Returned 1967	Left Camp
Negro	3	1	0
White	5	3	0
Spanish	3	2	0

Tables giving ethnic background of campers and the number who attended, returned and left camp in 1966.

2. In 1967, the number of campers was increased because of the availability of funds from the Department of Labor grant. The following is a breakdown of boys who came to camp that summer, those who returned from the previous summer and those who left the camp program:

Colorado Camp 1967

	Attended	Returned	Left Camp
Negro	2	0	0
White	18	4	1
Spanish	15	5	6

Table giving ethnic background of campers and the number who attended, returned and left camp in 1967.

3. In the summer of 1968 two camps were operated. Eight boys returned from the summer of 1967 to the Colorado camp and eight new boys attended the Colorado camp that summer. While not included in the specific research project, pre and post-data was collected on the boys and is included in the evaluation of the camp program. One part of the research that was conducted with this group, and which was described in the original research design was keeping the boys together during the year. In 1967 it had been planned to keep one group of boys together during the year and to let the others go back to the home environments without the support of the group. This part was not conducted because the person in charge of the program failed to meet his commitments and the year-round follow-up program had to be discontinued. In the summer of 1968 a follow-up program was provided for the boys. Although it was somewhat minimal in nature because the responsibilities of the project director did not allow him to make extensive use of the follow-up.

A control period from May to the middle of June was provided for the boys in the Colorado 1968 camp session. This control period is not as desirable as would be a control period during the month of June and July when boys attended the camp. This, however, was not possible and thus the control period has limitations, the primary one being that boys were involved in school activities and then proceeded directly to camp; whereas had they had a period of being free from school and not involved in structured activities during the time when others were at camp, this would have provided a more adequate comparison. Previous evidence indicates that deterioration during the summer vacation when boys are at loose ends and uninvolved in programs is the most relevant and important comparison. The breakdown of the ethnic background and the boys who attended camp is provided below.

		Vermont Camp 1968	
	Attended	Returned 1969	Left Camp
Negro	17	Unknown	4
White	2	Unknown	0
Spanish	17	Unknown	4

Table giving ethnic background of campers and the number who attended and left camp.

4. The final section of the camp research was conducted in Vermont in 1969. Thirty-nine boys attended camp and they were randomly assigned to either the first or second session of camp. Those waiting to attend the August session acted as a control group. A modification of the original experimental design is included in this section of the research. All boys were offered the opportunity in a uniform way to participate in the year-round follow-up activities. Careful records were kept of who took advantage of this opportunity and the extent of participation is included as a variable for study. The relationship between participation and other variables will be discussed on the section on the correlational study.

In summary the above section describes the experimental design and provides a breakdown of the boys attending the various summer camp sessions. Material is provided on their ethnic backgrounds, whether they stayed at camp, and whether they returned.

Instruments

A careful review of the personality assessment inventories was conducted in order to decide on a personality inventory to be used in the research. It was far beyond the scope of the research to devise a new personality instrument. The problems of adequate instrumentation for poverty boys are paramount. Often the items in personality inventories are inappropriate to the backgrounds and interests of poverty youngsters. Similarly the reading level is often in excess of their reading abilities. These disadvantages combined with the problem of reliability and validity of paper and pencil inventories make difficult the assessment of programs through personality inventories. In general the criteria for the selection of an instrument were the following:

1. Reading level sufficiently low to be understood by boys with poor reading levels.
2. Items sufficiently appropriate so that they would be intelligible and meaningful to the sample.
3. Scales covering a broad spectrum of personality characteristics which would be used to assess the overall impact of the camp.

On the basis of these criteria, two of the major competing personality inventories were eliminated. The California Personality Inventory while covering a broad spectrum of facets of personality, was considered too culture-bound as indicated by the presence of items about having read Alice in Wonderland, etc. While the scope of the inventory is broad, it was felt to be inappropriate for this sample. Another inventory being considered was the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. This was rejected because of its concern with pathology and the inappropriateness of its items to this sample of boys. The scale that was selected was Cattel's High School Personality Questionnaire. Its items were the most appropriate of the existing scales to the interests and daily lives of low-income teenagers. Similarly the 14 personality scales cover a broad spectrum of personality traits which would seem most useful as a general evaluative instrument. Also, research has been conducted using this instrument in the treatment of delinquents and in the evaluation of programs. In addition to these reasons, the author is prejudiced toward using deductively derived scales, i.e. factor analytically derived scales. The current state of the art seems to this researcher to require that scales be derived deductively through factor analytic procedures, particularly where they are used with samples of respondents who are not familiar with personality testing and whose norms may be quite different than those of upper and middle class respondents.

In summary, a High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ) was chosen for being the most appropriate and intelligible of the inventory items and meeting the predeliction of the researcher for deductively derived scales. While not an entirely satisfactory choice, it seemed the most appropriate considering the impossibility of developing a new instrument for this project. Clearly if paper and pencil tests are to be developed for evaluating the impact of programs on low income youngsters, instruments will need to be developed which are appropriate to the backgrounds and norms of poverty life.

The problems involved in selecting an attitudes scale to identify and measure poverty perpetuating or perhaps poverty relevant attitudes were even more acute. A review of the various instruments led the author to decide to develop his own instrument for specific use in this program.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEENAGERS' OPINION SURVEY

A major goal of the research project was to identify and measure salient dimensions in the domain of attitudes that were considered poverty perpetuating or at least relevant to poverty. It seems presumptuous to assume that any attitudes can in fact be poverty perpetuating. The relation of cause and effect between the attitudes of cynicism, distrust, alienation and low self-esteem and poverty is complex. In the proposed research the following domain of attitudes were regarded as potentially poverty perpetuating:

1. Poor attitudes toward work
2. Inappropriate and/or undifferentiated attitudes toward authority
3. Attitudes about self reliance and personal responsibility
4. Inappropriate and Unrealistic attitudes toward life in general
5. Negative attitudes toward cooperation, organization and the rights of others
6. Stereotyped antisocial attitudes
7. Poor self esteem

While begging the question of cause and effect in regard to the extent to which these attitudes are either symptomatic or causal factors in the poverty cycle, the following techniques were used to develop instruments to identify and measure poverty relevant attitudes.

A pool of about 300 items was compiled from items taken from a variety of existing scales and new items were written specifically for the Teenagers' Opinion Scale (TOS). Items were included in this pool relating to Machiavellianism, anomia, self-esteem, personal responsibility, the effectiveness of social action by groups of people, work, and attitudes toward interpersonal relations. From this pool of items, 109 were selected for the Teenagers' Opinion Survey (TOS). Copies of the TOS are available in English and Spanish from the author.

A deductive approach to the development of attitudes was deemed most appropriate because of the dearth of theories about poverty perpetuating attitudes and because of an absence of working attitude scales. Because it would have been presumptuous to use a priori scales in an inductive manner, factor analysis, a deductive approach to scale construction, was selected. The 109 items in the TOS were administered to almost 600 poverty teenagers. A correlational matrix was computed of the scores on the 109 variables by 109 variables. Five principal components were extracted from this matrix and these were then rotated to an orthogonal verimax solution.

Actually two factor analyses were done. The first was a factor analysis of 217 questionnaires that were administered to Colorado teenage boys, primarily in the summer of 1967. The second factor analysis was based on data obtained from 264 boys who completed the TOS in the New York region, primarily in the summer of 1968. It was decided to factor the data separately because of the possibility of regional and time differences. If the factor structures were relatively invariant, this would provide evidence for the validity of the scales derived from the Teenagers' Opinion Survey. Such invariance would indicate that the derived attitude scales represent enduring and common attitudes, because the data were derived from two different samples one year apart.

The test of invariance procedure employed scored the Colorado data on the New York factor structure and the New York data was then scored on the Colorado factor structure. This yielded two sets of scores for each individual. The first is his score according to the factor structure of his own group and his second score was on the factor structure of the other group. The individual's scores were then correlated, yielding a five by five correlation matrix. In this correlation matrix, only the diagonals are important, as they represent the inter-correlation of the two sets of data, which is a rough measure of the invariance of the solution. Factor One correlated .80 and .88 with its respective counterparts, Factor 2 correlated .50 and .75, Factor 3 correlated .72 and .86, Facotr 4 correlated .67 and .72, and Factor 5, the least invariant of the factors, correlated -.21 and .21 with its two counterparts. In summary, all correlations except for the Fifth factor were highly significant and suggest a relatively invariant solution. This invariance is of importance because it provides evidence for the generality of the attitude and the generalizability of the results concerning changes in attitudes.

In addition to the numerous problems inherent in paper-and-pencil tests, the administration of the Teenagers' Opinion Survey posed some specific difficulties in the use of such instruments with poverty teenagers. The respondents' low reading level and poor comprehension and their lack of familiarity with testing in general, posed unique problems which had to be overcome. The items in the scale were written to be as simple and straightforward as possible. The words were readily understandable, and the ideas were expressed primarily in simple sentences. Wherever possible, difficult words and complex ideas were avoided. Some unanticipated words proved difficult, such as the word, "task," which many respondents did not understand to mean a job. The analysis of the data, and the face validity of the scales indicate that the survey was understood by the respondents. This understanding was in part facilitated by the use of geometric representations of the Likert type scales. Items were presented in the 6-point Likert type format, ranging from strongly agree, to strongly disagree. A box if the respondent diagreed with the item or a circle if he agreed with the item. The greater the diagreement, the larger was the box to be checked, and the greater the agreement, the larger the circle to be checked. This format seemed helpful in understanding the concept of an agree-disagree continuum.

Another anticipated problem was the proneness of the subjects to give socially desirable responses. The content of the Teenagers' Opinion Survey was intended to be personally relevant. In the case of those boys who filled out the Survey in relation to coming to camp, its relelevance was increased as it was tied to the possibility of coming to the Camp. In order to minimize the eliciting of socially desirable responses, the following procedures were employed: All subjects were told that their responses were entirely anonymous and that it bore no relationship to their acceptance at the camp. They were asked to fill out the face sheet of the questionnaire and then themselves to physically remove the face sheet and to hand it in separately. This was designed to convince them of the anonymity of the questionnaire. In fact, this was merely the pretense of anonymity as minute holes had been pricked through both the face sheet andinto the survey itself, which allowed the questionnaires to be identified.

All of the Surveys of the boys who went to the Camp were administered by the project director himself. The questionnaires were filled out in small groups and under close supervision. Each individual was checked to see if he could read and understand the items prior to filling out the questionnaire, where the individual did not seem to understand the items, they were read to him by either the project director or one of the staff. Respondents who filled out the questionnaire on their own were kept under surveillance to see that they were reading the items, and checking the items correctly rather than just making random marks. Respondents were not permitted to talk to one another and were made to understand that the questions should be answered honestly and that any items that were not understood should be asked about. The camp group questionnaires seemed to have been completed seriously and candidly. Where it was discovered that they had not been filled out properly, these subjects were deleted from the analysis. This occurred in only one case of the camp group. The Teenagers' Opinion Survey was administered by individuals other than the project director to the other groups, such as IS 201, the Indian groups, etc.. The reliability of these test administrations cannot be verified. The people administering the questionnaire, however did understand the importance of it and had said that they followed the directions.

One cannot help but have mixed feelings about the deception involved in the pretext of anonymity. None of the respondents seemed to have discovered the deception. Such a deception was considered necessary to encourage respondents to give honest responses. The confidentiality of the individual's responses has been maintained by the project director who is the only one who could identify the questionnaires.

At the time of the administration of the TOS, Cattell's High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ) was administered to all boys who were applying for acceptance to the summer camp. This personality inventory was not administered under the pretext of anonymmity because of the lack of face validity of the items and the sophistication of the instrument, which minimized the possibility of evoking socially desirable responses.

The TOS was administered to a variety of groups and by different individuals. The following is a brief description of those groups which have completed the TOS:

1. In the summer of 1967 boys in the Denver area filled out the questionnaire. The administration was conducted by either the project director or his assisstant. The respondents were referred by such agencies as the Welfare Department, the Juvenile Court, recreation centers, housing projects, and a variety of community based programs.

2. In the summer of 1968 six weeks prior to the beginning of camp, the Colorado applicants filled out the TOS and HSPQ. This survey was later administered at the end of a control period and at the end of camp.

3. Boys in two group residential homes completed the TOS and HSPQ in the Denver area. These tests were administered by the assisstant director and pre and post measures during a period similar to that of the camp period were administered.

4. Indian teenagers from Poplar, Montana, completed the questionnaire, which was administered by a former VISTA volunteer and school teacher in Poplar.

5. Twenty-six boys who were detained by the Denver Juvenile Hall filled out both pre and post TOS and HSPQ at the beginning and end of their thirty day detention. These were administered by the staff psychologist.

6. Applicants to the 1968 Vermont program completed the questionnaire in a variety of small group settings. The sessions were conducted under the direction of the project director and at either Columbia University or at either of two store front community organizations. Numerous boys were told of the opportunity to attend camp. From this group boys were accepted to camp, where they later took the survey again.

7. In the fall of 1968 the boys who attended camp were offered one dollar apiece for each one of their friends that they brought to Columbia to fill out the questionnaire. One hundred and forty-seven TOS's were administered by the project director to groups of boys which rarely exceeded 15 boys.

8. Approximately 60 students attending Intermediary School 201 filled out the TOS and of these, about forty filled out pre and post questionnaires. These students were participating in a retrieval program run by a black militant school which is the locus of a community controlled school district in New York City. The sample is of interest in that it provides change scores on boys involved in a community-based black power program. The test was administered by school officials in the presence of a research assisstant.

9. Thirty boys from the upper-income community of Scarsdale who were members of a boy scout troop filled out the questionnaire at a scout meeting. It was administered by a scout leader according to directions.

These are the major groups of individuals who filled out the questionnaires and whose scores will be discussed in the results section.

DESCRIPTION OF ROTATED PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS AND THEIR DERIVED SCORES

Colorado Factor Analysis

The following are the items defining the rotated principal components, derived from the Teenagers' Opinion Survey. Items were selected which had a factor loading of .30 or more. The first rotated principal component had a sum of squares of 5.532, and is defined by the folliwng items:

FACTOR 1. COLORADO

VAR. 87	I AM (MEAN) (KIND) FACTOR LOADING	.605
103	MOST WORK IS (BAD) (GOOD)	.595
79	I AM (UNFRIENDLY) (FRIENDLY)	.579
80	I AM (SELFISH) (UNSELFISH)	.544
105	MOST WORK IS IMPORTANT	.511
76	I AM (GOOD) (BAD)	.492
101	MOST WORK IS (EXCITING) (BORING)	-.484
100	MOST WORK IS (NECESSARY) (UNNECESSARY)	.472
78	I AM (USEFUL) (USELESS)	.433
73	CHANGING THE LAWS SO THAT THEY ARE FAIR TO ALL PEOPLE	.390
70	GETTING A LARGE PROJECT DONE OR BUILT	.380
75	IMPROVING THEIR LIVING CONDITIONS	-.376
77	I AM (STUPID) (SMART)	-.373
	WHAT STEP DO YOU THINK YOU WILL GET UP TO?	.372
	WHAT STEP OF THE LADDER ARE YOU ON NOW?	.368
28	I ALWAYS DO MY FAIR SHARE OF WORK	.361
106	MOST WORK IS (SATISFYING) (UNSATISFYING)	.358
83	I AM (SLOW) (FAST)	-.357
91	ADULTS THINK I AM (UNFRIENDLY)	-.325
74	HELPING EACH OTHER WHEN A PERSON NEEDS SOME HELP	.317
2	I OFTEN **DON'T** FINISH JOBS I START IF THEY ARE NOT IMPORTANT.	-.306
71	HAVING A GOOD TIME TOGETHER	.305

This factor may be defined as an overall competence factor which has three components. The first component is of self-esteem and defines the individual as kind, good, friendly, useful, unselfish, smart, and fast. The second refers to work as being good, important, exciting and satisfying. The third facet of the factor **affirms** the efficacy of groups and regards them as capable of getting large projects done, improving living conditions of people, and having a good time and helping one another in times of need. This factor sees good, hard-working people as being effective in the accomplishment of socially important goals.

The second factor has a sum of squares of 6.208 and clearly defines a dimension of anomia or alienation, cynicism, and Machiavellianism. In general it regards the individual as relatively powerless and a victim of the fates in a world run by a few powerful people and where the individual is essentially ineffective, barring good luck. People are considered as objects to be manipulated and not to be trusted. There is a component of authoritarianism in this factor which regards the individual as needing constant coercion. In general it is a cynical and pessimistic world view, which regards the individual as impotent and his fate, the end result of circumstances over which he has little personal control. The following are the items which define Factor II and their factor loadings.

FACTOR 2. COLORADO

			FACTOR LOADING
VAR.	19	A PERSON'S FUTURE IS LARGELY A MATTER OF WHAT FATE HAS IN STORE FOR HIM	.567
	42	A CRIMINAL IS JUST LIKE ANY OTHER PERSON EXCEPT THAT HE IS STUPID ENOUGH TO GET CAUGHT	.534
	25	SUCCESS IS MORE DEPENDENT ON LUCK THAN ON REAL ABILITY	.531
	46	IT IS USUALLY BEST TO TELL PEOPLE WHAT THEY REALLY WANT TO HEAR	.529
	37	NEVER TELL ANYONE WHY YOU DID SOMETHING UNLESS IT WILL HELP YOU	.516
	17	ITS USELESS TO PLAN FOR TOMORROW; ALL WE CAN DO IS LIVE FOR THE PRESENT.	.488
	16	ITS USELESS TO WRITE PUBLIC OFFICIALS BECAUSE YOUR PROBLEMS DON'T INTEREST THEM	.483
	22	THIS WORLD IS RUN BY THE FEW PEOPLE IN POWER AND THERE IS NOT MUCH THE LITTLE GUY CAN DO ABOUT IT	.467
	20	THE POLICE OFTEN PICK ON PEOPLE FOR NO REAL GOOD REASON	.444
	44	SOMETIMES YOU HAVE TO CHEAT A LITTLE TO GET WHAT YOU WANT	.423
	35	THESE DAYS A PERSON DOESN'T KNOW WHO HE CAN COUNT ON	.408
	13	HAVING "PULL" IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN ABILITY IN GETTING AHEAD	.401
	15	ADULTS ARE ALWAYS LOOKING FOR SOMETHING TO NAG TEENAGERS ABOUT	.397
	45	I REALLY DON'T CARE WHAT KIND OF WORK I DO SO LONG AS IT PAYS WELL	.392
	3	I SELDOM WORRY ABOUT WHAT OTHERS THINK OF ME	.391
	50	YOU CAN'T TRUST MOST PEOPLE	.387
	32	THERE ARE 2 KINDS OF PEOPLE IN THE WORLD: THE WEAK AND THE STRONG	.384
	58	MOST PEOPLE WON'T WORK UNLESS YOU MAKE THEM DO IT	.377
	4	WHEN A PERSON HAS A PROBLEM OR A WORRY IT IS BEST TO TRY TO FORGET ABOUT IT	.376

52	IT IS UP TO THE GOVERNMENT TO MAKE SURE THAT EVERYONE HAS A GOOD JOB AND ENOUGH MONEY TO LIVE COMFORTABLY	.369
38	IN GETTING A JOB DONE, A STRICT LEADER IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE PEOPLE LIKING ONE ANOTHER	.348
57	IT IS SMART TO BE NICE TO IMPORTANT PEOPLE EVEN IF YOU REALLY DON'T LIKE THEM	.338
8	IT IS SAD TO HAVE TO GROW UP IN THIS WORLD THE WAY THINGS LOOK FOR THE FUTURE	.336

Factor number three is essentially a factor of how adults are perceived to view the respondent and has a sum of squares of 5.684. While the major facet is defined by the "Adults think I am..." items, some items about self-esteem and attitudes toward work are included. By far the most salient component of the factor, however, is the adults' view. This factor is defined by the following items:

FACTOR 3 COLORADO

VAR.		
94	ADULTS THINK I AM (WEAK) (STRONG)	.701
89	ADULTS THINK I AM (STUPID) (SMART)	.692
93	ADULTS THINK I AM (IMPORTANT) (UNIMPORTANT)	-.610 -.610
95	ADULTS THINK I AM (SLOW) (FAST)	.584
98	ADULTS THINK I AM (SQUARE) (COOL)	.581
88	ADULTS THINK I AM (GOOD) (BAD)	.544
90	ADULTS THINK I AM (USEFUL) (USELESS)	-.521
96	ADULTS THINK I AM (HARD-WORKING) (LAZY)	.517
91	ADULTS THINK I AM (UNFRIENDLY) (FRIENDLY)	.516
99	ADULTS THINK I AM (MEAN) (KIND)	.482
92	ADULTS THINK I AM (SELFISH) (UNSELFISH)	.445
77	I AM (STUPID) (SMART)	.445
85	I AM (INFERIOR) (SUPERIOR)	.345
82	I AM (WEAK) (STRONG)	.350
45	I REALLY DON'T CARE WHAT KIND OF WORK I DO SO LONG AS IT PAYS WELL	.348
86	I AM (SQUARE) (COOL)	-.332
88	ADULTS THINK I AM (GOOD) (BAD)	-.328
2	I OFTEN DON'T FINISH JOBS I START IF THEY ARE NOT VERY IMPORTANT	.304

Factor number four has a sum of squares of 5.420 and can be regarded as a general optimism factor, which regards people as honest, hard-working and involved in intrinsically satisfying relationships. It suggests that there is always something which makes life worthwhile and suggests that Negroes, Spanish, and whites are treated the same in this country.

It denies police brutality and reaffirms the importance of work. It is defined as follows:

FACTOR 4 COLORADO

Var.		
33	I ENJOY DOING HARD JOBS	.620
102	MOST WORK IS (FUN) (BORING)	.549
30	I ENJOY WORK AS MUCH AS PAY	.517
47	YOU CAN ALWAYS FIND SOMETHING AHEAD OF YOU WHICH MAKES LIFE WORTH LIVING	.502
31	EVEN IF YOU CAN'T STAND SOMEONE YOU SHOULD STILL BE NICE TO THEM	.479
49	NEGROES, SPANISH AMERICANS AND WHITES ARE USUALLY TREATED THE SAME IN THIS COUNTRY	.435
41	SUCCESSFUL PEOPLE ARE MOSTLY HONEST AND GOOD	.422
34	THE GOVERNMENT WILL SEE TO IT THAT THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY WILL HAVE A A BETTER LIFE	.403
96	ADULTS THINK I AM (HARDWORKING) (LAZY)	.402
90	ADULTS THINK I AM (USEFUL) (USELESS)	.393
84	I AM (HARDWORKING) (LAZY)	.379
43	YOU SHOULD ALWAYS BE HONEST, NO MATTER WHAT	.378
24	IF I PLAY MY CARDS RIGHT, I CAN GET ALMOST ANYONE TO LIKE ME	.367
15	ADULTS ARE ALWAYS LOOKING FOR THINGS TO NAG ABOUT TEENAGERS	-.354
11	PEOPLE ARE JUST NATURALLY FRIENDLY AND HELPFUL	.349
14	IF I COULD LIVE COMFORTABLY WITHOUT WORKING, I WOULD NOT WORK	-.343
20	THE POLICE OFTEN PICK ON PEOPLE FOR NO GOOD REASONS	-.324
53	I AM A VERY LUCKY PERSON	.324
18	ANY GOOD LEADER SHOULD BE STRICT WITH PEOPLE UNDER HIM IN ORDER TO GAIN THEIR RESPECT	.310
36	I HAVE GIVEN CAREFUL THOUGHT TO MY FUTURE	.301

The last factor derived from the analysis of the Colorado responses has a sum of squares of 4.830 and is defined by the items which regard the individual as responsible for making his own fate and which affirm the effectiveness of group endeavors to improve their living conditions. It regards the individual as responsible for going with a crowd that gets him in trouble, for doing his job well, for getting in trouble with the law and for getting a speeding ticket. It regards groups of people working in concert as effective in helping each other, ending racial prejudice, getting a large project done and putting an end to wars. This factor also states the importance of work for eventual success and suggests that jobs will be abailable if one works and studies hard at an early age. The factor is defined by the following items:

FACTOR 5 COLORADO

VAR.		
63	HOW RESPONSIBLE DO YOU THINK A PERSON IS FOR GOING WITH A CROWD THAT IS ALWAYS GETTING HIM INTO TROUBLE?	-.706
67	HOW RESPONSIBLE DO YOU THINK A PERSON IS FOR NOT DOING HIS JOB WELL?	-.699
65	HOW RESPONSIBLE DO YOU THINK A PERSON IS FOR GETTING IN TROUBLE WITH THE LAW?	-.681
62	HOW RESPONSIBLE DO YOU THINK A PERSON IS IF HE GETS A TICKET FOR SPEEDING?	-.572
72	ENDING RACIAL PREJUDICE	.405
74	HELPING EACH OTHER WHEN A PERSON NEEDS SOME HELP	.400
70	GETTING A LARGE PROJECT DONE OR BUILT	.384
10	I LIKE TO BE ABLE TO SAY THAT I HAVE DONE A DIFFICULT JOB WELL	.380
47	YOU CAN ALWAYS FIND SOMETHING AHEAD OF YOU WHICH MAKES LIFE WORTH LIVING	.361
43	YOU SHOULD ALWAYS BE HONEST, NO MATTER WHAT	.345
5	I LIKE TO DO THINGS BETTER THAN OTHER PEOPLE CAN	.330
68	PUTTING AN END TO WARS	.323
7	HARD WORK IS THE KEY TO SUCCESS	.319
29	FEW PEOPLE ENJOY HARD WORK	.313
39	THE PEOPLE YOU WORK WITH CAN MAKE A JOB MUCH MORE ENJOYABLE	.309
9	IF A MAN WILL WORK HARD AND STUDY TODAY HE CAN BE PRETTY ASSURED THAT A JOB WILL BE OPEN FOR HIM LATER	.303

The five factors had a communality of 27.674. That is, they accounted for 27.674% of the variance in the matrix. The sum of squares for the five factors and the split half reliabilities of the scored factors are presented in the following table:

TABLE I

Colorado Factors

	I	II	III	IV		% VARIENCES ACCOUNTED FOR
SUM OF SQUARES N=217	5.532	6.208	5.684	5.420	4.830	27.674
SPLIT HALF RELIABILITY OF SCORED FACTORS N=358	.77	.40	.80	.68	.78	

Table I Showing the Sum of Squares and Percent of Variance accounted for

in the Five Principal Components Derived from the Factor Analyses of the Colorado Sample. Split Half Reliabilities for the Scoted Factors are also Presented.

NEW YORK FACTOR ANALYSIS

The five factors which were derived from the factor analysis of the data obtained from the New York respondents are presented below. They were derived by the same factor analytic techniques used in the factor analysis of the Colorado data;that is, five principal components were extracted from the 109 by 109 matrix and were rotated to an orthogonal verimax solution. All items having a factor loading of .30 or above were scored for the factor. Unweighted factor scores were used for all items.

The first principal component had a sum of squares of 6.411 and consists primarily of two facets of self-esteem. One facet is the semantic differential items , such as "I am strong,kind, cool, smart, fast, friendly, useful, important, unselfish, superior and good." This factor is a bipolar dimension being defined by the above items or their opposites. The same bipolar adjectives in the "Adults think I am..." format defines the other facet of this factor;i.e., the perceived view of adults. These items are intercorrelated as is evidenced by the fact that they load on the same factor, attesting to the fact that the self-esteem of the individual is related to the way adults are perceived; that is, people with high self-esteem tend to regard adults as viewing them in a worthy and competent manner. Individuals with low self-esteem tend to regard adults as holding negative and antagonistic views of them. Important as it is,the relationship of cause and effect in these cases cannot be disentangled. The following items define Factor I.

FACTOR 1 NEW YORK

Var.		Factor Loading
91	ADULTS THINK I AM (UNFRIENDLY) (FRIENDLY)	-.587
95	ADULTS THINK I AM (SLOW) (FAST)	--.581
99	ADULTS THINK I AM (MEAN) (KIND)	-.577
82	I AM (WEAK) (STRONG)	-.535
94	ADULTS THINK I AM (WEAK) (STRONG)	-.535
87	I AM (MEAN) (KING)	-.529
86	I AM $SQUARE) (COOL)	-.511
96	ADULTS THINK I AM (HARD-WORKING) (LAZY)	.505
77	I AM (STUPID) (INTELLIGENT)	-.502
83	I AM (SLOW) (FAST)	-.494
98	ADULTS THINK I AM (SQUARE) (COOL)	-.486
79	I AM (UNFRIENDLY) (FRIENDLY)	-.480
92	ADULTS THINK I AM (SELFISH) (UNSELFISH)	-.469
90	ADULTS THINK I AM (USEFUL) (USELESS)	.449
88	ADULTS THINK I AM (GOOD) (BAD)	.441
78	I AM (USEFUL) (USELESS)	.428
93	ADULTS THINK I AM (IMPORTANT) (UNIMPORTANT)	.422
81	I AM (IMPORTANT) (UNIMPORTANT)	.396
97	ADULTS THINK I AM (INFERIOR) (SUPERIOR)	-.384
80	I AM(SELFISH) (UNSELFISH)	-.369
85	I AM (INFERIOR) (SUPERIOR	-.319
76	I AM (GOOD) (BAD)	.312
101	MOST WORK IS (NECESSARY) (UNNECESSARY)	-.308

The second principal component extracted, had a sum of squares of 5.087 and is essentially the same anomia or alienation dimension found in the second factor in the Colorado sample. Similar items in a similar order defined this factor, which briefly, regards success in life as a matter of luck, believes in the futility of working and planning for the future, and espouses a cunical and opportunistic view of one's fellow man. The overlapping of these particular items in the Colorado and New York analysis suggests a strongly invariant dimension. The following items defined Factor II:

FACTOR 2 NEW YORK

VAR.		FACTOR LOADING
25	SUCCESS IS MORE DEPENDENT ON LUCK THAN ON REAL ABILITY	.486
32	THERE ARE 2 KINDS OF PEOPLE IN THE WORLD - THE WEAK AND THE STRONG	.474
52	IT IS UP TO THE GOVERNMENT TO MAKE SURE THAT EVERYONE HAS A GOOD JOB AND ENOUGH MONEY TO LIVE COMFORTABLY	.473
15	ADULTS ARE ALWAYS LOOKING FOR THINGS TO NAG TEENAGERS ABOUT	.467
17	IT'S USELESS TO PLAN FOR TOMORROW; ALL WE CAN DO IS TO LIVE FOR THE PRESENT	.444
38	IN GETTING A JOB DONE A STRICT LEADER IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE PEOPLE LIKING ONE ANOTHER	.438
42	A CRIMINAL IS JUST LIKE OTHER PEOPLE EXCEPT THAT HE IS STUPID ENOUGH TO GET CAUGHT	.430
37	NEVER TELL ANYONE WHY YOU DID SOMETHING UNLESS IT WILL HELP YOU	.428
45	I REALLY DON'T CARE WHAT KIND OF WORK I DO SO LONG AS IT PAYS WELL	.414
46	IT IS USUALLY BEST TO TELL PEOPLE ONLY WHAT THEY REALLY WANT TO HEAR	.413
58	MOST PEOPLE WON'T WORK UNLESS YOU MAKE THEM DO IT	.395
4	WHEN A PERSON HAS A PROBLEM OR A WORRY, IT IS BEST TO TRY AND FORGET ABOUT IT	.391
16	IT IS USELESS TO WRITE PUBLIC OFFICIALS BECAUSE YOUR PROBLEMS DON'T INTEREST THEM	.385
13	HAVING "PULL" IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN ABILITY IN GETTING AHEAD	.384
54	SO MANY PEOPLE DO THINGS WELL THAT IT IS EASY TO GET DISCOURAGED	.375
19	A PERSON'S FUTURE IS LARGELY A MATTER OF WHAT FATE HAS IN STORE FOR HIM	.374
2	I OFTEN DON'T FINISH JOBS I START IF THEY ARE NOT VERY IMPORTANT	.373
51	I USUALLY KEEP MY OPINION TO MYSELF	.335
14	IF I COULD LIVE COMFORTABLY WITHOUT WORK, I WOULD NOT WORK	.329
57	IT IS SMART TO BE NICE TO IMPORTANT PEOPLE EVEN IF YOU DON'T REALLY LIKE THEM	.308

The third New York factor had a sum of squares of 3.957 and is a dimension defining the effectiveness of social action. It suggests that groups of people working together can end prejudice, stop police brutality, make laws so that they are fair to all people, improve their living conditions and pur an end to wars. It also suggests that people cannot be ezsily fooled and that it is better to be honest with them and that hard work is generally necessary. Again, this factor is close in content to the factor on social effectiveness in the Colorado sample. The following items define this dimension:

FACTOR 3 NEW YORK

VAR		FACTOR LOADING
72	ENDING RACIAL PREJUDICE	.638
69	STOPPING POLICE BRUTALITY	.570
73	CHANGING THE LAWS SO THEY ARE FAIR TO ALL PEOPLE	.564
75	IMPROVING THEIR LIVING CONDITIONS	.513
74	HELPING EACH OTHER WHEN A PERSON NEEDS SOME HELP	.508
68	PUTTING AN END TO WARS	.453
70	GETTING A LARGE PROJECT DONE OR BUILT	.425
56	MOST PEOPLE CANNOT BE EASILY FOOLED	.383
100	MOST WORK IS (NECESSARY) (UNNECESSARY)	.332
55	IT IS BETTER TO TELL SOMEONE WHY YOU WANT HIM TO HELP YOU THAN TO MAKE UP A GOOD STORY TO GET HIM TO DO IT	.300

The fourth factor had a sum of squares of 4.908 and is defined by items which espouse the personal value of work and have an optimistic view of people. It suggests that the individual can enjoy doing hard jobs and that work is as much fun as play. It also suggests that work is meaningful in terms of eventually achieving success and that the future looks bright for today's teenagers. Items relevant to an optimistic view of people stated that individuals are mostly honest and good, that they should be that way, that people are just naturally friendly and helpful and that individuals should be nice to people even if they do not particularly like them. The following items define this factor:

FACTOR 4 NEW YORK

VAR.		FACTOR LOADING
30	I ENJOY WORK AS MUCH AS PLAY	.545
33	I ENJOY DOING HARD JOBS	.338
26	ORDINARILY, ANY MAN WILLING TO DO WORK CAN GET A JOB	.487
31	EVEN IF YOU CAN'T STAND SOMEONE YOU SHOULD STILL BE NICE TO THEM	.431
102	MOST WORK IS (FUN) (BORING)	.419
43	YOU SHOULD ALWAYS BE HONEST, NO MATTER WHAT	.398
41	SUCCESSFUL PEOPLE ARE MOSTLY HONEST AND GOOD	.397
23	THE FUTURE LOOKS BRIGHT FOR TODAY'S TEENAGER	.383
11	PEOPLE ARE JUST NATURALLY FRIENDLY AND HELPFUL	.382
36	I HAVE GIVEN CAREFUL THOUGHT TO MY FUTURE	.378
28	I ALWAYS DO MY FAIR SHARE OF THE WORK	.378
84	I AM (HARDWORKING) (LAZY)	.356

VAR#		FACTOR LOADING
45	I REALLY DON'T CARE WHAT KIND OF WORK I DO SO LONG AS IT PAYS WELL	.327
18	ANY GOOD LEADER SHOULD BE STRICT WITH PEOPLE UNDER HIM IN ORDER TO GAIN THEIR RESPECT	.316
46	IT IS USUALLY BEST TO TELL PEOPLE ONLY WHAT THEY REALLY WANT TO HEAR	.316

A final principal component had a sum of squares of 3.176 and is primarily a personal responsibility dimension being defined by items that state that the individual is responsible for getting into trouble with the law, for going with a crowd that is always getting in trouble, for getting a speeding ticket, and for doing his job well. Again, this factor is similar to the Colorado factor with similar items. It is defined as follows:

FACTOR 5 NEW YOTK

VAR.		FACTOR LOADINGS
65	HOW RESPONSIBLE DO YOU THINK A PERSON IS FOR GETTING IN TROUBLE WITH THE LAW?	-.612
63	HOW RESPONSIBLE DO YOU THINK A PERSON USUALLY IS FOR GOING WITH A CROWD THAT IS ALWAYS GETTING HIM INTO TROUBLE?	-.610
62	HOW RESPONSIBLE DO YOU THINK A PERSON USUALLY IS IF HE GETS A TICKET FOR SPEEDING?	-.588
67	HOW RESPONSIBLE DO YOU THINK A PERSON IS FOR NOT DOING HIS JOB WELL?	-.398
93	ADULTS THINK I AM (IMPORTANT) (UNIMPORTANT)	.306

The five rotated principal components accounted for 23.593 of the variance in the matrix.The reliabilities for these five factors were, in order, .81 for the first factor, .79, .66, .78, and .81. In general these reliabilities are higher in the New York factors, although these factors accounted for less of the variance than in the Colorado sample. The factors have acceptable levels of split-half reliability and can thus be assumed to be reliable measures. The following table presents the above data:

TABLE II
NEW YORK FACTORS

	I	II	III	IV	V	% VARIENCE ACCOUNTED FOR
SUM OF SQUARES N=264	6.411	5.087	3.957	4.908	3.176	
SPLIT HALF RELIABILITIES OF SCORED FACTORS N=399	.81	.79	.66	.78	.81	23.593

Table II Showing the Sum of Squares and Percent of Variance Accounted for in Five Principal Components Derived from the Factor Analyses of the New York

Inherent in the research design is the limitation imposed by having to factor analyze separately the Colorado and New York data. It was necessary to factor analyze the data separately in order to establish the validity of the dimensions by determining their relative invariance in two widely separate populations geographically who filled out the questionnaire primarily in 1967 and 1968. It was therefore decided to select those items which loaded on factors in both Colorado and New York samples and to build compromise scales. Items were selected and combined into scales using unweighted factor scores. For the most part, only items which had a factor loading of .30 or above in both samples were included in the scale. However, in cases where the items had an acceptable loading on one scale and close to it on the other sample, they were included. Similarly, items were included if they came close to the .30 criterion and were useful in rounding out the underlying dimension of these scales. Because the scales are a compromise solution between the two separate factor analyses, it would appear that they are less precise instruments than the original factor analysis. Their split-half reliabilities, however, remain at acceptable levels and in some instances exceeded the reliabilities of the original New York-Colorado samples for these factor scores.

In summary, these factors are acceptable in terms of their reliability and useful in terms of the research design. Their usefulness is apparent because it doubles the number of change scores available in camp and control groups. Because of the lack of reliability and validity in change scores, it was decided that compromise factors, whose scores are necessarily less precise, would be preferable to reducing the total number of change scores. If change scores of the experimental subjects were computed for Colorado and New York separately, this would reduce the statistical power of the significance tests. In the results section, change scores will be discussed for both the original factors and the compromise factors.

Six additional scales were built from the two factor solutions, which will be described briefly as follows. Factor number six is essentially a dimension that states the value of work in terms of providing a satisfying and meaningful experience and in terms of its extrinsic value of being prerequisite to achieving success and leading the good life. In the Colorado sample, this factor had a reliability of .79 and in New York, .74. The items defining this factor are as follows:

FACTOR 6 NEW YORK AND COLORADO

VAR	
11	PEOPLE ARE JUST NATURALLY FRIENDLY AND HELPFUL
18	ANY GOOD LEADER SHOULD BE STRICT WITH PEOPLE UNDER HIM IN ORDER TO GAIN THEIR RESPECT
23	THE FUTURE LOOKS BRIGHT FOR TODAY'S TEENAGERS
28	I ALWAYS DO MY FAIR SHARE OF THE WORK
30	I ENJOY WORK AS MUCH AS PLAY
31	EVEN IF YOU CAN'T STAND SOMEONE YOU SHOULD STILL BE NICE TO THEM
33	I ENJOY DOING HARD JOBS
34	THE GOVERNMENT WILL SEE TO IT THAT THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY WILL HAVE A BETTER LIFE
36	I HAVE GIVEN CAREFUL THOUGHT TO MY FUTURE

VAR.

41 SUCCESSFUL PEOPLE ARE MOSTLY HONEST AND GOOD
43 YOU SHOULD ALWAYS BE HONEST, NO MATTER WHAT
49 NEGROES, SPANISH-AMERICANS AND WHITES ARE USUALLY TREATED THE SAME IN THIS COUNTRY
84 I AM HARD-WORKING
90 ADULTS THINK I AM USEFUL
96 ADULTS THINK I AM HARD-WORKING
102 MOST WORK IS FUN

Factor number seven is defined by the personal responsibility items which are presented below. It had a reliability of .78 in the Colorado sample and .79 in the New York sample.

FACTOR 7 NEW YORK AND COLORADO

VAR.

62 HOW RESPONSIBLE DO YOU THINK A PERSON USUALLY IS IF HE GETS A TICKET FOR SPEEDING?
63 HOW RESPONSIBLE DO YOU THINK A PERSON USUALLY IS FOR GOING WITH A CROWD THAT IS ALWAYS GETTING HIM IN TROUBLE?
65 HOW RESPONSIBLE DO YOU THINK A PERSON USUALLY IS FOR GETTING IN TROUBLE WITH THE LAW?
66 HOW RESPONSIBLE DO YOU THINK A PERSON USUALLY IS FOR NOT BEING ABLE TO FIND A JOB?
67 HOW RESPONSIBLE DO YOU THINK A PERSON IS FOR NOT DOING HIS JOB WELL?

Scale number eight is a bipolar dimension which includes the items in the semantic differential of the adults' view of the respondent. These items are presented below and form scales having a reliability of .82 for New York and .78 for Colorado.

FACTOR 8 NEW YORK AND COLORADO

VAR.

88 ADULTS THINK I AM (GOOD) (BAD)
89 ADULTS THINK I AM (STUPID) (SMART)
90 ADULTS THINK I AM (USEFUL) (USELESS)
91 ADULTS THINK I AM (UNFRIENDLY) (FRIENDLY)
92 ADULTS THINK I AM (SELFISH) (UNSELFISH)
93 ADULTS THINK I AM (IMPORTANT) (UNIMPORTANT)
94 ADULTS THINK I AM (WEAK) (STRONG)
95 ADULTS THINK I AM (SLOW) (FAST)
96 ADULTS THINK I AM (HARD WORKING) (LAZY)
97 ADULTS THINK I AM (INFERIOR) (SUPERIOR)
98 ADULTS THINK I AM (SQUARE) (COOL)
99 ADULTS THINK I AM (MEAN) (KIND)

Scale number nine is the scale on the effectiveness of social action. The items are presented below and generally refer to the effectiveness of individuals working together. In New York the reliability was .79 and in Colorado it was .73

FACTOR 9 NEW YORK AND COLORADO

VAR.	
682	PUTTING AN END TO WARS
69	STOPPING POLICE BRUTALITY
70	GETTING A LARGE PROJECT DONE OR BUILT
72	HAVING A GOOD TIME TOGETHER
72	ENDING RACIAL PREJUDICE
73	CHANGING THE LAWS SO THEY ARE FAIR TO ALL PEOPLE
74	HELPING EACH OTHER WHEN A PERSON NEEDS SOME HELP
75	IMPROVING THEIR LIVING CONDITIONS

Scale number ten is the anomia dimension which is presented below. Because of the great overlap of items and the similarity of the ranking of the items, this factor scale seems to be relatively invariant across samples. In both New York and Colorado samples, it had a reliability of .78.

FACTOR 10 NEW YORK AND COLORADO

VAR.	
4	WHEN A PERSON HAS A PROBLEM OR A WORRY IT IS BEST TO TRY TO FORGET ABOUT IT
13	HAVING "PULL" IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN ABILITY IN GETTING AHEAD
15	ADULTS ARE ALWAYS LOOKING FOR THINGS TO NAG TEENAGERS ABOUT
16	IT'S USELESS TO WRITE TO PUBLIC OFFICIALS BECAUSE YOUR PROBLEMS DON'T INTEREST THEM
17	IT'S USELESS TO PLAN FOR TOMORROW; ALL WE CAN DO IS LIVE FOR THE PRESENT
19	A PERSON'S FUTURE IS LARGELY A MATTER OF WHAT FATE HAS IN STORE FOR HIM
25	SUCCESS IS MORE DEPENDENT UPON LUCK THAN ON REAL ABILITY
32	THERE ARE TWO KINDS OF PEOPLE IN THE WORLD: THE WEAK AND THE STRONG
37	NEVER TELL ANYONE WHY YOU DID SOMETHING UNLESS IT WILL HELP YOU
38	IN GETTING A JOB DONE, A STRICT LEADER IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE PEOPLE LIKING ONE ANOTHER
42	A CRIMINAL IS JUST LIKE OTHER PEOPLE EXCEPT THAT HE IS STUPID ENOUGH TO GET CAUGHT
45	I REALLY DON'T CARE WHAT KIND OF WORK I DO SO LONG AS IT PAYS WELL

VAR.

46 IT IS USUALLY BEST TO TELL PEOPLE ONLY WHAT THEY REALLY WANT TO HEAR
57 IT IS SMART TO BE NICE TO IMPORTANT PEOPLE EVEN IF YOU REALLY DON'T LIKE THEM
58 MOST PEOPLE WON'T WORK UNLESS YOU MAKE THEM DO IT

The final compromise scale was the self concept scale, which is a bipolar scale composed of semantic differential items. All of the items in the original Teenagers' Opinion Survey are included and again these items appeared on factors in both the New York and Colorado samples. They have a reliability of .69 in Colorado and .67 in New York. The items defining this scale are as follows:

FACTOR 11 NEW YORK AND COLORADO

VAR.

76 I AM (GOOD) (BAD)
77 I AM (STUPID) (SMART)
78 I AM (USEFUL) (USELESS)
79 I AM (FRIENDLY) (UNFRIENDLY)
80 I AM (SELFISH) (UNSELFISH)
81 I AM (IMPORTANT) (UNIMPORTANT)
82 I AM (WEAK) (STRONG)
83 I AM (SLOW) (FAST)
84 I AM (HARD WORKING) (LAZY)
85 I AM (INFERIOR) (SUPERIOR)
86 I AM (SQUARE) (COOL)
87 I AM (MEAN) (KIND)

Table III summarizes the split half reliabilities of the compromise scales in the two samples.

TABLE III

SPLIT HALF RELIABILITIES OF COMPROMISE SCALES

FACTORS	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
COLORADO RELIABILITIES N=358	79	78	78	73	78	69
NEW YORK RELIABILITIES N=399	74	79	82	79	78	67

Table III showing The Split Half Reliabilities of Compromise Factor Scores for Both the New York and Colorado Samples

Thus, two instruments have been selected for part of the evaluation of the program and its strategy for breaking the poverty cycle. For reasons discussed above, Cattell's High School Personality questionnaire and the Teenagers' Opinion Survey are the two instruments employed to assess changes induced by the camp program. In addition to the change scores as measured by the HSPA and the TOS, in comparing control groups and comparison groups, data was collected on the internal workings of the program. This data will be presented in a separate section that will deal solely with correlations between the variables describing campers who participated in the camp program; this data will be described shortly.

As described in the section on the factor analysis of change scores, the TOS was administered to a variety of groups. The first step in the analysis of this material will be to compare the sample of boys who attended camp to different comparison groups. If it is found that the boys' scores on the scales in the TOS were essentially similar to those of the other groups, the potential for generalability of the camp results is increased. If those boys who attended camp are reasonably typical of a larger sample of poverty teenagers, then the results have broader implications.

In Colorado the TOS was administered to the following groups:

1. Those boys who actually attended the summer camp session in 1967. Their scores on the pre-tests, that is, the first time they took the TOS, will be compared to the other groups.

2. Boys selected for the camp were chosen from a larger group of boys, who more closely represent a cross section of Denver poverty teenagers.

3. The pre-test scores of the 1968 new campers, or those boys who attended camp in 1968 for the first time, will be compared to other groups.

4. Boys in two group homes for poverty and disturbed or delinquent boys filled out the TOS. The boys from these two institutions will be compared to the other groups on the pre-test.

5. American Indians from Poplar Montana and Rosebud, South Dakota, will be compared to the Colorado boys who attended camp.

6. Those boys assigned to the control group who eventually became campers will be compared to all of these groups.

7. Boys who were incarcerated for a 30 day period in the Denver Juvenile Hall, were administered both pre and post tests. These boys will be compared to the above groups on their pre-tests.

In summary, these pre-test comparisons will be used to determine the extent to which there is a potential for generalizing from the camp group to the other groups. If they were comparable at the time of the pre-testing, the argument is supported for the campers being a representative group of poverty teenagers.

Pre-tests on the New York campers will be compared to other poverty teenagers who filled out the questionnaire in the New York area. The following groups will be compared on their scores on the TOS:

1. Boys who attended the camp in 1968 will have their pre-test scores compared to the other groups.

2. The control group, that is, those boys who were randomly assigned to the second session, will be compared on their pre-test to those boys who attended camp.

3. Friends of boys who attended camp filled out TOS. Their questionnaire scores will be presented for the purpose of comparison.

4. Teenagers, both boys and girls, who attended the Intermediary School 201 summer retrieval program will be compared to other groups on the basis of their pre-test.

5. Scores on the TOS by boys from Scarsdale, N.Y., an upper middle class community, will be presented for comparative purposes.

In summary, campers will be compared to all of these different groups on scales derived from the TOS. This will provide information about the general reliability of conclusions drawn from the camp-control group and will also lend evidence for establishing through criterion groups the validity of the scales.

A second comparison of scale scores will be based upon pre and post-tests of the TOS and the High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ). Both of these instruments were administered over a comparable period of time to relevant comparison groups. In some cases, only the TOS was administered on a pre and post-basis. In this case, changes will be compared to the changes of the camp subjects.

Changes between the pre and post-tests of campers will be compared in Colorado to the following groups:

1. The control group, which is essentially composed of boys who eventually attended the camp, will be compared to the camp group.

2. Boys incarcerated in Juvenile Hall for a thirty day period will be compared to changes in the camp group.

3. The difference between pre and post scores on the TOS and the HSPQ of boys in the two group homes will be compared to campers. In all of the above cases, changes in the camp group will be compared for significance to changes in the appropriate group for the Colorado boys.

For those attending the camp in New York, changes for the New York campers on both the HSPQ and the TOS will be compared to the following groups:

1. The control group composed of those randomly assigned to the second session, of camp will be compared on these two instruments.

2. Boys attending the I.S. 201 summer retrieval program will be compared on scores only on the TOS to campers. Only this instrument

was administered to this group.

These, then, will be the comparisons of change scores between the experimental camper group and the randomly assigned control group or other comparison groups. Changes will be compared on the ten factor analytically derived scale scores and the fourteen scale scores from the HSPQ and their second order factors in some cases. From a psychometric point of view, change scores are particularly difficult to assess because of their poor reliability and validity. For this reason, tests of significance will be made between the pre and post-tests of the experimental camper group. Also tests of significance will be made between postcamp and post-control groups. Such a postcontrol post-camp group will be relevant as both the subjects were assigned randomly to either of these conditions.

The second major component of the research study is a correlational study of the relationships between the variables on which data was collected during the camp. In addition to evaluating the camp program by studying camp-induced changes in personality and attitudes, a study of the interrelationship of variables was undertaken in order to help establish the validity of the measures. This correlational study will attempt to relate performance in camp in terms of behavior rating, sociometric status and performance in experimental tasks, etc. to the paper and pencil measures. The only data presented here will be the intercorrelations of these variables. In further analyses of the data multiple regression and multiple correlation formulas will be worked out in order to develop prediction formulas for success in the camp program. When such instruments can be developed, it then will enhance the success rate of matching the boys to the program. Far too few paper and pencil tests have been related to actual behavior and performance.

The following are brief descriptions of the variables which were intercorrelated. Unlike the assessment of change scores all boys who attended the camp will be employed in this study, including those who were not randomly assigned to the camp program. This includes boys who were accepted late for the program, retarded and disturbed children, and campers returning from the previous year. The following are the variables which will be intercorrelated.

1. The pre and post scale scores on the Teenagers Opinion Survey and the High School Personality questionnaire will be included for eventual use in pre and post-diction studies.

2. Impairment - The impairment rating was arrived at by averaging the different staffs' rating on psychological impairment. This is a rough estimate of the extent to which the individual is psychiatricly impaired or disturbed. It is an overall assessment of the extent to which the individual is impaired by his inappropriate interpersonal relations, psychotic episodes, neurotic conflicts, anxiety symptons, etc. An overall impairment rating was chosen as opposed to attempting to classify people according to current psychiatric nosological categories.

3. Interpersonal Skill - This also is a consensus rating of the interpersonal skill of the individual, which assesses his ability to get along with other people in a cooperative, friendly, and effective way. It is a measure of his facility in handling interpersonal conflicts and working and living with others.

4. Work - This is a rating of the effectiveness of the individual in the various camp work projects. It is an overall rating of the camper's ability to organize a work project, to make a sustained effort and to work effectively with others. It also assesses his motivation to work effectively.

5. Liking Camp - This consensus rating seeks to measure his overall liking of camp as indicated by such things as the enjoyment of the camp activities, his active participation in the program, his positive feelings toward camp, etc.

6. Changed By Camp - This rating of the extent to which the boy has been changed by the camp program is an overall assessment of the changes that occurred between his arrival at the camp and when he left. It does not attempt to specify the nature of the change but simply whether change in fact did occur.

7. Junior Counselor Potential - This average rating attempts to assess the potential of the camper for eventual employment as a junior counselor. It is a measure of his leadership ability, responsibility, and his effectiveness as a leader.

8. Upward Mobility - This is an attempt to evaluate the individual camper's chances for upward social mobility, i.e. his potential for breaking the poverty cycle. It includes reasources available for avoiding poverty - either legal or illegal. It seeks to reflect his intelligence, shrewdness, motivation and his effectiveness as a worker, but does not attempt to break down the different paths to upward mobility.

9. Liked By Staff - This is an overall rating of the degree to which the specific staff personally liked the individual camper.

The above ratings are averages of the individual ratings of staff who actually lived with the boys during the summer. They were independent ratings of each of the campers. In the cases of a tie, ratings were given to the more extreme rating. The ratings were made on a 1 to 4 basis. These ratings were then averaged with a final rating being the best compromise between the different individual ratings. For example, if there were two ratings of a number 2 and two of a number 1 this rating would be given a number 1 rating. This was done in order to spread out the distribution of the ratings.

The next set of variables that were studied deal with the sociometric structure of the camp and changes within that structure. Three important domains of sociometric status were employed in this study. Boys were asked who they would like to tent with. Selection of a tent mate represents a choice of someone one could live compatibly with or enjoy being with, and it comes closest to the area of overall friendship.

The second sociometric rating concerned work choice. Boys were asked who they would want to work with or not want to work with.

The third rating was who the boys would like to go on a trip with. The trip is the most fun part of the camp program and tends to reflect people one would have fun with as opposed to people chosen because of their compatibility or their effectiveness as workers.

In all cases boys were asked for their first, second and third choice of someone to work with, tent with, or go on a trip with. They were also asked for their first and second choice of whom they would not want to be with in any of these three situations. Difference scores were also computed between the pre sociometric status and the post sociometric status. Each individual was given an overall rating for his popularity on these three dimensions. All of the person's positive choices were added together and all of the rejections that he received were subtracted from the number of times he was positively chosen. In this way, an overall popularity rating for each of the three areas was compiled. This rating was compiled one week after camp started and at the end of camp. Difference scores were also computed which are included in the correlational study. The attempt was made to relate changes in attitudes etc. with increase or decrease in popularity in these three areas.

One final way in which sociometrics status was used was in relationship to the ring toss game. In this situation the performance of boys was estimated by their fellow campers prior to actual performance in a ring toss game. This estimate of a boy's performance by all others was then correlated with his sociometric status, pre and post. Sociometric status was measured by the total number of positive choices minus the number of negative ones. A first choice received the score of three, a second choice received a score of two and a third choice to participate in these activities received a score of 1. Where the subject was rejected he had a score of 3 subtracted from his positive choice score if he was first on the list of rejectees and a two subtracted from his score if he was the second reject choice.

The next variable included is the area of interpersonal perception. All campers were asked to rate themselves on the semantic differential items as they thought the project director would rate them. That is, they were to anticipate his rating of them. The subject was then rated by the director and both scores computed. The discrepancy between these scores were computed. The three variables are the camper's perception of his rating by the director, the director's actual rating, and the discrepancy between the two.

The same semantic differential ratings were also provided by the camper on his evaluation of the camp and of the camp staff.

The next group of variables were derived from the ring toss experiment in which boys were asked to toss a ring over a peg. They first tossed the ring in the presence of only the project director and then in the presence of all of the campers. In each situation they were allowed to throw the ring three times from any distance they chose. They could change their distance after any one of the tosses. After every one himself had tossed the ring they were then asked to estimate the performance of every other camper on the next round of tosses. They were told that they should guess what each of the other campers would do and that the total would then be computed for the entire group. The person coming closest to the actual grand total would then be awarded a $1 prize. Seventy five cents was offered to the second closest and fifty cents to the third closest. These prizes were offered in order to assure that the estimates be made seriously. The following data was collected in the ring toss situation.

1. The total number of points that were guessed for the entire group.

2. The rank of the estimator was computed in comparison to his estimates of other people's performance. In other words, did he see himself as having the highest score, the lowest score, or what rank score did he think that he would have in relation to others.

3. The overall rank position of every boy, as estimated by all the subjects, was computed in the following manner. The boys estimated rank from all of the other campers was computed in order to adjust to the fact that different boys had different estimates of total number of points to be earned. All scores were converted to ranks. For example, a first choice rank by one boy might be a score of 2,000, whereas for another boy the same rank might be based on a score of 50. All ranks by all campers were thus computed, and the mean rank estimate for each

camper was finally computed. This mean rank was the average of all of the ranks of the estimates of performance for each camper. These three variables are then related to the other variables.

The age of the boy is included in the correlational study and is based on his age on entering the camp program.

The next variable that was studied is the length of time at camp. Boys were rated in the following way; they received a 1 if they attended camp and left, a 2 if they attended camp and stayed the full session, and a 3 if they attended camp and came back the next year. This variable is included to see if the process of self selection could be predicted by any of the other measures. Coming to camp, leaving of camp and returning to camp for a second session are individual choices of self selection.

The next variable is a dichotomous variable contrasting the differences between black, and Spanish youngsters.

A final variable included in the study is the number of best friends that were made at camp. Boys were asked for the names of their 5 best friends and the number of best friends made at camp were computed. This is an attempt to assess the degree to which lasting friendships were made.

In summary then, the above variables are included for a correlational study of the actual working of the camp program. All boys who attended the camp were included in this study. It is an attempt to relate paper and pencil measures to actual behavior performances. This is done in order to help establish the construct validity of the various scales.

The last component of the evaluative research to be discussed in this paper is the automated nursing notes. In the Colorado camp in 1968, each boy was rated each day by one of the camp staff. The ratings were made on the optically scanned automated nursing note ratings forms which are included in appendix A. Ratings are then made and the individual is scored on varieties of 20 factor analytically derived dimensions. These 20 dimensions are scored for both the individuals and for the group. For example, the "ideal patient dimension" is scored for each individual. All of these individual scores are then averaged and an average group score computed for each day. A test of significance of the first 3 days of the 35 day camp session in comparison to the last three days of the session was computed Tests of significance of the scales yielding significant differences are described in appendix B and in the results section.

This research was included as part of a pilot study for the eventual monitoring of the group programs. It is clear to most sensitive observers that the individual's behavior waxes and wanes in relationship to the mood, cohesion, and tenor of the group. If guided group interaction programs are to be developed, ways of monitoring the group interaction must be developed in order to provide both practical and theoretically relevant information about the use of groups in influencing individuals.

These optically scanned nursing notes were developed at the Hartford Institute of Living, and are an attempt to monitor or maintain a temperature chart of the ward group in a mental hospital. Some of these items were inappropriate for the camp but the overall attempt was considered valuable for this experimental program. In the future, new items will be developed and a new factor analysis of these items will be conducted in order to develop behavior rating scales appropriate to this population and this program.

In summary the above is a description of the experimental design and includes a description of the instruments used and the rationale for the choice of the High School Personality questionnaire. The development of the Teenagers' Opinion Survey and a descrition of its factor analytically derived scales is also provided. This instrument, from a psychometric point of view, is a reliable instrument. It requires future revision and improving, but is now a working instrument that can be used in evaluating the attitudes of poverty teenagers. Finally an internal study of the interrelationships between the paper and pencil tests and a variety of intra camp variables was conducted. These intra camp variables include such things as behavior ratings, sociometric status and changes in status, interpersonal perception rating, and performance on an experimental ring toss game. The results of the change scores, interrelationships of variables, and the monitoring of the group behavior in the Colorado camp are discussed in the following results sections.

The characteristics of the scale

Two types of data will be examined prior to a discussion of the results in order to provide the background information necessary for the interpretation of the results. The first has to do with the reliability and validity of the testing instruments, and the second has to do with the genralizability of the results to other poverty teenagers. In regard to the psychometric characteristics of the scales, data was presented in the description of the scales derived from the factor analysis.

The split-half reliabilities for most of the factors are at an acceptable level. Another measure of the reliability of the scales is in the correlations between the pre-test and post-test of the scale. Data was obtained on the correlation of the pre-test scores with a post-test of five weeks and a post-test of one-year for both samples of the Colorado and New York boys who attended the camp. This data is presented in the following table:

NEW YORK = N=22			COLORADO = N=19			COMBINED N=41		
factor	5 weeks	1 year	factor	5 weeks	1 year	factor	5 wks.	lyr
1	.901	.461	1	.492	.417	1	.842	.480
2	.830	.772	2	.715	.643	2	.905	.858
3	.510	.558	3	.826	.269	3	.951	.868
4	.820	.802	4	.560	.469	4	.732	.694
5	.791	.519	5	.568	.530	5	.839	.766
6	.838	.556	6	.556	.623	6	.732	.609
7	.849	.547	7	.697	.058	7	.846	.461
8	.905	.568	8	.860	.453	8	.868	.536
9	.645	.299	9	.558	.506	9	.610	.341
10	.811	.462	10	.782	.645	10	.809	.548
11	.680	.475	11	.409	.133	11	.680	.408

TABLE #1 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PRE-TEST AND FIVE WEEKS AND 1 YEAR POST-TEST ON THE ELEVEN SCALES DERIVED FROM THE TEENAGERS' OPINION SURVEY

The above correlations suggest that the scale is highly reliable in terms of re-test reliabilities, with high correlations occurring even after one year, which bespeaks of the enduring characteristics which the scales measure. For example, in the compromise Anomia scale, #10, in the N.Y. sample at a post 5-week correlation with the pre-test of .81, and at the end of one year at a correlation of .46. In Colorado, the respective correlations were .78 and .64. The combined group had a post- 5 week correlation of .80 and a one-year correlation of .54. In the case of this scale particularly, and other scales in general, the scales seem to be measuring enduring characteristics. It was hoped that these scales would have lesser reliabilities in order to assess change. As discussed in the theoretical overview, dimensions susceptible to change can be arranged on a continuum from those measuring enduring characteristics which do not change to very ephemeral ones, which change almost capriciously. This data suggests that the scales were enduring, as will be discussed later, the Anomia scale #10 did detect change while still maintaining high pre-test, post-test correlation. This means that while significant change did occur, the ranking among the respondents remained the same, indicating that uniform change occurred by adding a constant to pre-test scores. This seems to indicate that the control group and camp group experience was a uniform change which did not alter the rankings.

The High School Personality Questionnaire was chosen specifically because of its approptiateness for this population of teenagers and its adequate reliability and validity. This intrument has been used in assessing change and seemed acceptable. In summary then, the two major instruments of the study appear to have acceptable reliabilities which makes possible arguments about the reliability and validity of change as detected by these instruments.

Another consideration before discussing the specific results of the changes in attitudes and personality characteristics is the generalizability of these results. In order to determine the extent to which results from the camp group can be generalized to other populations of poverty teenage boys, comparisons have been made to a variety of other poverty teenager groups.

In Colorado the pre-experimental test scores, that is the scores before the boys came to camp, were compared to the scores of those who did not come to camp. Comparisons were also made to the boys who were in the control group (that were [illegible] to come to camp) and to institutionalized delinquents. In both the control group, which had an N equal to 12, and the group of boys who took the teenagers' opinion survey but did not come to camp, which had an N of 78, no significant differences were found on the 11 attitude scales when compared to the pre-camp test in Colorado of 1967, with its N equal to 17.

Differences were, however, found between the Colorado pre-camp group and the pretest on institutionalized juvenile delinquents. On factor 1, the General Competence factor, the mean of the camp group was 44.64 compared to a mean of 52.05 for the institutionalized delinquents. This means that the campers tend to regard people and the possibility for social action as more competent. On factor 2, the Original Anomia factor, the camp group was significantly less [illegible] with a score of 103.93 compared to the delinquent population score of 90.25. This Anomia factor was recomputed in a compromise factor whose scores were then reversed. Again, the camp group scored lower on Anomia with a mean of 54.66 compared to a delinquent mean of 61.49. In summary then, for the Colorado 1967 experiment, no significant differences were found between the experimental and control groups, and between the campers and the other 78 boys in Denver. This finding suggests that the results of the camp experience are generalizable to other poverty youngsters. Differences were only found between the institutionalized delinquents and the campers in the realms of Personal Competence and Anomia.

In 1968 boys were tested prior to coming to camp. During the summer, boys participating in a black militant [illegible] program in a junior high school which is the locus of a community-controlled school district, were tested. In the fall after camp, boys who were friends of the campers were also tested. Friends were also tested around December of 1968. Of greatest importance to an interpretation of the significance of the change scores is the fact that [illegible] no significant differences between the control group and the camper group. The populations were statistically similar at the onset of the experiment. Campers compared to their friends, however, reveal several important differences. They tended to have more positive attitudes toward work as measured by factor #6. They had a mean score of 72.06 compared to 65.07 for their friends. Similarly, they had higher scores on the Adults View factor, #8, with a score of 57.50 compared to 51.84 amongst their friends. On factor 11, Self Esteem, the campers tended to have a higher score than their friends. The campers' mean score was 59.77 compared to 54.80. Differences were not found on the other factors, particularly the Anomia factor, #10 and #2. The camper group had an N=22 and the friends had an N=145. These differences seem expectable if one accepts the fact that the camp posed a novel and challenging experience, which would be more appealing to those having higher self-esteem and to those who felt that adults had a positive view of them. These more positive attitudes toward work may reflect an artifact of the testing situation, in which boys were applying for acceptance to a work-camp. While anonymity was assured, one cannot be sure that given the relevance of work, it may have biased their reported attitudes toward work. The friends were tested in a situation essentially irrelevant to the prospects of imminent work, which might account for some of the differences. Significant differences were also found between the campers and their friends on the Adult's View and Self-Esteem factors. In both cases, campers had more positive attitudes.

Comparisons with the 41 boys and girls in the IS 201 program showed that the campers had significantly more positive attitudes toward work. On factor 6, the campers had a mean score of 72.06 and the 201 group had a mean score of 60.89. This may reflect the inclusion of girls in the sample (which is the only comparison made with a mixed group) or it may reflects real differences. In summary then, the Vermont 1968 camp group was essentially similar to their friends, with the exceptions of Adults' View, Self-Esteem and Attitudes Toward Work. They were similar to people in the IS 201 summer program with the exception of Attitude Toward Work, which is relected in differences in scores on factors 4 and 6. Comparisons of the experimental group to the control group yield no significant differences. In summary then, explanations of changed scores between the control group and the experimental group can not be explained on the basis of initial differences, which reflects the random assignment to the control and experimental conditions.

One final comparison was made of the Vermont campers to an upper class sample of boys from the wealthy suburban community of Scarsdale, New York, in order to validate the scales by the use of criterion group techniques. Significant differences were found between the camper group and the Scarsdale population on the following dimensions: 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, and 11. This means that the camp group was significantly higher on Anomia, Group Action, and had less positive attitudes about work. They were highly differentiated in terms of factor 10, Anomia. Scarsdale teenage boys had a score of 44.78 in comparison to a camper's score on Alientation of 60.73. The mean difference between the scores is 15.95 which is significant past the .001 level. Finally, the camp boys had a slightly higher Self-Esteem score with a score of 59.77 compared to the lower Self-Esteem of the Scarsdale youths, of 55.09. Summarizing the relevant points regarding the Teenagers' Opinion Survey, different scores can be accepted in the light of their being derived from reliable and valid scales. Validation can be argued on the basis of the Scales's ability to differentiate poverty and affluent youngsters, particularly in regard to the dimension of Anomia. The reliability of the scales is based on their high pre-test, post-test correlation and the split-half reliabilities of the scales, and the relatively invariant solutions of the two factor analyses. Differences occurring in changes on the Teenagers' Opinion Survey may then be more readily assumed to be reliable and valid and to be generalizable to other populations of poverty youngsters, particularly with regard to the dimension of Anomia.

One final set of comparisons were made to provide background data for a discussion of changed scores. Cattell's High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ) was administered as a pre-test to both the experimental and control groups. In Colorado in 1967, no significant differences were found between the control group and the experimental group on the 14 personality dimensions, or the 7 second-order factors and derived scores. Similarly, no significant differences were found between the Vermont 1968 camp and control group on any of these 21 dimensions. The High School Personality Questionnaire again reflects the adequacy of the randomization of subjects to the experimental and control group. Differences found in changes in these two groups are not explainable on initial differences in the subjects as measured by the High School Personality Questionnaire or the Teenagers' Opinion Survey.

If the Teenagers' Opinion Survey is a reliable and valid instrument and if the subjects were not atypical, the significant changes that occurred can be more readily accepted as both valid and generalizable to other poverty teenagers. The validity of these findings will be enhanced if the pattern of changes occurred in Colorado in 1967 (with primarily white and Mexican boys) replicates in the 1968 sample of New York boys which is primarily Black and Spanish.

The attitude scales derived from the TOS are scored so that high scores on the following factors indicate high scores for Colorado as follows: Factor 1, Competence; 2, Low Anomia; 3, Positive Perception of Adults View of Self; 4, Negative Attitudes Towards Work; 5, Little Personal Responsibility; 6, Positive Attitudes Towards Work; 7, High Personal Responsibility; 8, Positive Adults' View; 9, High Group Action; 10, Anomia; and factor 11, Self-Esteem. For the New York data, high scores will be meaningful on the following factors: 1) Positive Adults' View and Self Esteem, 2) Low Anomia, 3) Lack of Effective Group Action, 4) Negative Attitudes Toward Work, 5) Low Personal Responsibility. Factors 6-through 11 are scored the same way as in the Colorado data because they are compromise factors.

The following tables will present comparison of the changed scores and tests of their significance between the experimental and control groups in both Colorado and Vermont separately, and then the groups combined. As the primary data from which these different scores are derived is too extensive to be included in the report, they are yet available from the author.

The only significant differences found in changes in the attitudes of the Colorado teenagers occurred on Factor 10, the Anomia dimension. The control group had an initial mean of 52.34 at the beginning of the control period which increased to 57.86 demonstrating that the control group became more alienated. The experimental group had an initial mean of 54.66 and at the end of the experiment period, went down in alienation, having a mean score of 52.04. This yielded a difference of 8.133, which was significant at the .012 level. In the Vermont experiment a year later, the same pattern occurred. The control group increased in alienation from 56.60 to 60.66 while the experimental group decreased in alienation from 60.73 to 59.58. This yielded a difference of 5.180 which was significant at the .034

level. When these groups are combined, there is a mean difference of 6.684 which yields a T value of 3.524, which is significant at the .001 level. This data is presented in the following tables.

TABLE #2

TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE OF CHANGE SCORES FOR COLORADO CAMP AND CONTROL GROUPS ON 5 COLORADO FACTORS AND 6 COMPROMISE FACTORS FROM THE TOS

Variable Description	Var. #		Control Group	Camp Group	Difference	S.E.	D.F.	T-Test	Significance
Competence Factor	1	Mean	3.632	-2.136	5.768	3.304	26.0	1.746	(P=0.093)
		SD	8.754	8.401					
		N	11	17					
Anomia	2	Mean	-9.091	-1.706	-7.384	5.723	26.0	-1.290	(P=0.208)
		SD	18.534	11.867					
		N	11	17					
Adults' View & Self-Esteem	3	Mean	-1.697	2.695	-4.392	3.669	26.0	-1.197	(P=0.242)
		SD	8.886	9.838					
		N	11	17					
Optimism	4	Mean	5.373	0.574	4.800	4.731	29.0	1.014	(P=0.319)
		SD	14.592	11.624					
		N	12	19					
Personal Responsibility & Group Effectiveness	5	Mean	0.750	-0.916	1.666	2.503	29.0	0.665	(P=0.511)
		SD	8.125	5.823					
		N	12	19					
Attitudes toward Work	6	Mean	-2.528	-1.565	-0.962	4.084	29.0	-0.236	(P=1.000) APPROX
		SD	12.884	9.810					
		N	12	19					
Personal Responsibility	7	Mean	1.083	0.156	0.927	1.299	26.0	0.714	(P=0.482)
		SD	4.602	2.127					
		N	12	16					
Adults' View	8	Mean	-1.346	1.882	-3.229	3.079	26.0	-1.049	(P=0.304)
		SD	7.130	8.433					
		N	11	17					
Effectiveness of Group Action	9	Mean	0.833	-0.421	1.254	1.450	29.0	0.865	(P=0.394)
		SD	4.802	3.288					
		N	12	19					
Anomia	10	Mean	5.512	-2.621	8.133	3.038	29.0	2.677	(P=0.012)
		SD	8.519	8.061					
		N	12	19					
Self Concept	11	Mean	0.	-0.151	0.151	2.655	25.0	0.057	(P=1.000) APPROX
		SD	6.429	6.791					
		N	10	17					

TABLE #3

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE OF CHANGE SCORES FOR NEW YORK CAMP AND CONTROL GROUPS ON 5 NEW YORK FACTORS AND 6 COMPROMISE FACTORS FROM THE TOS

Variable Description	Var. #		Control Group	Camp Group	Difference	S.E.	D.F.	T-Test	Significance
Adults' View & Self Esteem	1	Mean	-5.806	1.464	-7.270	3.452	28.0	-2.106	(P=0.044)
		SD	10.820	7.850					
		N	10	20					
Anomia	2	Mean	-6.494	0.778	-7.272	2.922	29.0	-2.489	(P=0.019)
		SD	8.381	7.227					
		N	10	21					
Effectiveness of Group Action	3	Mean	-1.800	-0.943	-0.857	2.045	29.0	-0.419	(P=0.678)
		SD	4.442	5.673					
		N	10	21					
Attitudes Toward Work	4	Mean	1.400	1.572	-0.172	2.977	29.0	-0.058	(P=1.000) APPROX
		SD	8.934	7.149					
		N	10	21					
Personal Responsibility	5	Mean	-0.800	0.300	-1.100	1.193	28.0	-0.922	(P=0.364)
		SD	1.989	3.481					
		N	10	20					
Attitudes toward Work	6	Mean	0.740	-2.031	2.771	2.401	29.0	1.154	(P=0.258)
		SD	6.822	5.972					
		N	10	21					
Personal Responsibility	7	Mean	-0.975	0.607	-1.582	1.242	29.0	-1.274	(P=0.213)
		SD	2.982	3.338					
		N	10	21					
Adult View	8	Mean	3.257	-0.179	3.435	2.156	28.0	1.594	(P=0.122)
		SD	6.319	5.171					
		N	10	21					
Effectiveness of Group Action	9	Mean	2.500	0.476	2.024	1.458	29.0	1.388	(P=0.176)
		SD	4.743	3.281					
		N	10	21					
Anomia	10	Mean	4.069	-1.111	5.180	2.324	29.0	2.229	(P=0.034)
		SD	7.132	5.493					
		N	10	21					
Self Concept	11	Mean	1.267	-1.484	2.750	2.187	28.0	1.258	(P=0.219)
		SD	7.336	4.634					
		N	10	20					

TABLE 14

TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE OF CHANGE SCORES ON COMBINED COLORADO IN 1967 AND VERMONT IN 1968 ON 6 COMPROMISE SCALES OF THE TCS

Variable Description	Var. #		Control Group	Camp Group	Difference	S.E.	D.F.	T-Test	Significance
Attitudes toward Work	6	Mean	-1.042	-1.810	0.768	2.362	60.0	0.325	(P=1.000) APPROX
		SD	10.473	7.922					
		N	22	40					
Personal Responsibility	7	Mean	0.148	0.412	-0.264	0.894	57.0	-0.296	(P=1.000) APPROX
		SD	4.000	2.851					
		N	22	37					
Adults' View	8	Mean	0.846	0.768	0.077	1.884	56.0	0.041	(P=1.000) APPROX
		SD	6.995	6.841					
		N	21	37					
Effectiveness of Group Action	9	Mean	1.591	0.050	1.541	1.022	60.0	1.508	(P=0.137)
		SD	4.737	3.273					
		N	22	40					
Anomia	10	Mean	4.856	-1.828	6.684	1.897	60.0	3.524	(P=0.001)
		SD	7.769	6.786					
		N	22	40					
Self Concept	11	Mean	0.634	-0.871	1.505	1.685	55.0	0.893	(P=0.376)
		SD	6.745	5.682					
		N	20	37					

It should be noted that the significant differences occurred largely because of an increase in alienation in the control group. The disorganization of the summer seems to be an anomic experience, while the summer camp experience seems to moderately reduce anomia. One can surmise then that the summer camp acts as a holding action which slightly reduces the anomia that simultaneously increases in the control group. This increase in anomia in the control group may be the result of the lack of organized social involvement during the summer vacation. Unfortunately, trends cannot be determined from this data because the experimental design did not include a control group that never attended the camp. It was considered neither ethical nor feasible to ask teenagers to fill out the questionnaires without the offer of coming to camp. Future research would be necessary to determine the nature and extent of the camp holding action in comparison to a control group which did not attend camp.

Summarizing the supporting data relevant to this finding, a strong argument for its reliability and validity can be made. The reliability of the Anomia Scale, #10, is established by its split-half reliability of .78 in both the Colorado and New York samples. Its invariance was demonstrated when the Colorado and New York data were scored on the others factor structure, and yielded correlations between the original scoring and new scoring of .50 and .79. In the N.Y. sample there was a correlation of .81 between the pre-camp and post one year tests of .46. In Colorado the correlations were, at 5 weeks, .78 and at one year, .64. The combined groups yielded a pre-test, post 5-week and post-one year correlations of .80 and .54, respectively. The scale clearly measures an enduring dimensions of attitudes. The significant changes clearly occurred because of an addition of a constant i.e. as the pre-post correlations remained high. The validity of the anomia scale is documented by its ability to discriminate at beyond the one thousand level of significance between upper class and poverty youngsters. The scale is clearly reliably valid, and the changes that have occurred are also reliable and valid as they were replicated in two different situations, separated both geographically and in time.

Cattell's High School Personality Questionnaire was administered before and after the camp and control period. This personality inventory consists of fourteen primary factors of personality scales, and seven second-order factors and derived scores. When the data from both the Colorado and Vermont Camps are combined, significant changes occurred on the second-order factor of extroversion, and the primary factors H and I. This data will be presented, but the data from non-significant csts of differences will be available from the author. Scores from the High School Personality Inventory range from one to ten, and are standardized scores. On second order factors of extroversion, the Vermont control group had an initial score of 4.400 and became more extroverted to 4.587. The Vermont experimental group increased from a pre-test of 4.659 to 4.827. The Colorado Control group decreased from 5.610 to 4.558. While the pre-test of the Colorado experimental group was 4.921, it increased to 5.434. When this data is combined, there is a gain in extroversion of .332 in the experimental group and a decrease for the control group in extroversion of .36 .611. This yields a difference of .943 which is significant at the .023 level.

On factor H significant differences in changed scores were found between the control and experimental groups. A low score on H describes a shy, restrained, and timid person in contrast to a socially bold and uninhibited person. The experimental group became more shy while the control group became more venturesome and socially bold. The differences were significant at the .046 level. In Colorado, the control group had an initial score of 6.083 and increased to 6.250 while the experimental group had an initial score of 6.526 which decreased to 5.684. In an inital score of 6.526 which decreased to 5.684. In Vermont the control group increased from 6.33 to 7.00 while the experimental group decreased from a pre-test of 6.591 to a score of 6.136. In both separate experiments this pattern is replicated, and when the data is combined, it is significant at the .046 level.

On factor I, which is a personality trait ranging from tough minded, self-reliant, and realistic to tender-minded, dependent and over-protective. Both groups moved toward growing more tough minded; the experimental group had a decrease of .146 while the control group had a decrease i.e. moved toward being more tough minded of 1.450. The differences between these rates of increasing tough mindedness is a 1.304 which is significant at the .030 level. While this factor seems similar to alienation, scores on the Anomia factor and factor I are not significantly correlated. This then is a brief summary of the significant changes in personality inventory used in the research. In summary, the experimental group became significantly more extroverted, less venturesome and less tough minded than did the control group.

Intercorrelations were computed between all of the 126 variables used in the study. As only a few can be presented here, selection has inevidentally taken place, but the primary data will be available from the author. As changes in the Anomia score are the most reliable and valid in the evaluation, an examination of the correlates of the pre-test on Anomia will be presented. There were surprisingly few significant correlations between Anomia and the other variables. In the Colorado sample, Anomia, Factor #10 was significantly related to the popularity rating of those who were chosen to go on a trip. The higher the Anomia, the lower the popularity rating, with a significant correlation of -.534. Increases in popularity of being asked to go on trips were positively correlated. The Vermont experiment Anomia factor #10 was significantly correlated with a crude measure of intelligence on the High School Personality Questionnaire factor B. There was a negative relationship between Anomia and intelligence which had a correlation of -.443. This crude measure of intelligence seems similar to a measure of acculturation, as it is primarily a vocabulary test. Similarly, pre-tests on Anomia were negatively correlated in the Vermont Group to factor Q-3. The higher the Anomia, the more the individual was likely to be undisciplined and follow his own urges as contrasted with a high score on Factor Q-3 which indicate control and socially precise behavior. Clearly, the attitude scale of Anomia seems to be relatively unrelated to various behavioral measures. Some measures to which it was not related are psychiatric impairment, inter-personal skill, participation in the camp follow-up program, etc. One demographic variable to which the Anomia scale was related is ethnic background. In the Vermont camp group, the point biserial correlation between the Spanish versus the Black in Anomia was .513, meaning that Spanish boys were significantly less anomic than Black youngsters.

The final correlation study to be presented here, is that of the perception of performance on the ring-toss experiment. In this experiment, boys were asked to estimate ther performance of all other campers in throwing a ring over a peg. Ring toss performance was intentionally an ambiguous task because people had no factual information on which to make their estimates. Estimates of the scores were then converted to ranks, and the individual was then ranked on his group estimated performance in ring tossing. High ranking by all other campers i.e. a person who is perceived by the group as likely to have a high score, was positively correlated with that individual's rating on his ability to work by the staff. It had a correlation of .511. Individuals that were ranked by the group as likely to get a high score were rated by the staff as hard workers. They were also regarded by the staff as having high potential as a junior counselor with a correlation of .621. Performance estimates were positively correlated with high popularity in terms of tenting, with an insignificant correlation of .378 at the beginnings of camp. At the end of camp, the correlations between popularity as a desired tent-mate and performance was .526. Performance estimates were significantly correlated with popularity as a work partner. In the beginning of camp, correlations were .605 and in the post sociometric status regarding work, was .65. Estimates of performance were insignificantly related to popularity as a choice for trips. In Colorado, the estimate of performance was significantly related to sociometric status or popularity with regard to work and with choice as to a tent-mate. Work popularity was correlated .464 with estimates of performance, post-work estimates were correlated .731 with performance. Unlike the New York data, the correlation between trip popularity and estimates of performance was significant, being .545 on the pre-trip sociometric status and .529 on the post. Interestingly enough, estimates of performance by the Vermont campers correlated .542 with one's own estimated rank, this means that those boys who were estimated to have high scores tended to think that they themselves would achieve low scores. An interpretation of this data is that those people who are particularly competent as judged by others tend to be reasonable if not to underestimate their performance. They clearly do not assume that they will have unrealistically high scores. In summary then, the estimates of performance of others seems clearly related to the work behavior of the campers. Those whose work behavior was such as to achieve the respect of others, were assumed to have high performance. The respect of others is measured by their sociometric status in terms of work-partners and their ratings by the staff. Somewhat ironically those people with high capability tend to underestimate their own performance or are not grandiose about their own prospects.

This then concludes a somewhat aborted discussion of the results of the evaluation of the Sage Hill Camp Program. This section of the evaluation has focused on the results regarding Anomia as they seem to be most reliable and valid. Much of the other data collected was beyond the scope of the original proposal and must await further analysis for an adequete presentation. The next section has to do with the implications of the camp program data, which have been derived primarily from the judgement and the ongoing assessment of the project director. It is in part, a response to the findings regarding Anomia, but is primarily a response to the ongoing monitoring and analysis of the camp program. One has the feeling from the "hard" data, that it does not catch the value and the meaning of the camp program as it relates to the campers in terms of both their crisis and everyday needs. The implications section is an evaluation of a different sort in that it deals with real life incidents and analytic judgements about the program - its limitations and its capabilities. The more empirical data recently described cannot lead one to many strong conclusions about the value of the five week program as measured by the Teenagers' Opinion Survey and the High School Personality Questionnaire. A major "finding" of the program has been the value of the relationships developed during the summer camp program. Because of the intimacy and the cooperative nature of building and maintaining summer camps, close relationships with the boys have been developed. These relationships (a pre-requisite for the development of relationships is a mutual involvement and concern over a long period of time) make it possible for the camp staff to advocate for campers. The staff are known, accepted, and trusted by the campers and as a result of this five-week experience, are an acceptable third party and thus, are in a position to advocate for campers with regard to legal, medical, psychiatric, and welfare problems, etc.. While these relationships are elusive if not intangible in terms of the empirical data collected, they are nonetheless vital to an evaluation of the program and will therefore be discussed in the section on the implications of the camp program.

The Implications of the Sage Hill Camp Program for Manpower Policy

The major thrust of the Sage Hill camp program is in regard to the socialization necessary for developing effective workers. While technical training is provided in carpentry, masonry conservation, heavy equipment operation, etc., the major goal of the camp program was to engender attitudes, motivations and interpersonal skills which would prepare campers for eventual employment. As such, the camp program has few specific implications for the detecting of new jobs and the meeting of anticipated manpower requirements. Only in the case of the junior counselor program has the program sought to select and train boys for the vast number of "new careers" type jobs that are opening in Presidential programs, community organizations, recreation, and group work, etc. In this area the number of effective group workers is limited.

There are numerous and varied pre-requisites for an individual to become an effective worker capable of consistent and productive employment. The converse of the poverty perpetuating attitudes, motivations, and inter-personal skills are the requirements for being an effective worker. An individual must be sufficiently organized and motivated to work at specified times in a consistent and productive manner. He must have a sufficient sense of responsibility so that he can be relied upon. According to the demands of quantity and quality in regard to production, a modicum of a sense of personal achievement is a necessity. In such technical jobs as keypunching, machine work, and complicated industrial assemblies, etc., interpersonal skills are vital in that they affect the way he relates to authority and to his peers. His sensitivity and responsiveness to others is essential for his smooth functioning in an organized work situation. In summary, there are many attitudes, motivations, and inter-personal skills which are pre-requisites for technical training. Given such a socialization, technical skills can be more readily learned and more effectively used. The primary goal of the Sage Hill camp program is to provide such an effective work-oriented socialization as a foundation for later technical skills.

Except in the home life of children, there is relatively little opportunity for socialization in regard to work. Child labor laws prohibit many types of employment and the relative immaturity of youngsters usually precludes challenging jobs that entail responsibility, etc. In poverty communities, the situation is made worse by a lack of availability of jobs with even a modicum of long-term benefits in regard to work socialization. The jobs offer little money and little or no responsibility or chance for improvement. Similarly, they often provide little incentive for excellence in terms of the quantities or quality of work done. They offer usually quick money and little more. Such jobs as carrying groceries, being a messenger boy, working in supermarkets, or doing menial work in garages or shops often offers little in the way of potential for a work-oriented socialization. In some cases, the Neighborhood Youth Core has opened up jobs to teenagers which by their intent at least are designed to provide a work socialization. In fact, however, many Neighborhood Youth Corps jobs provide little supervision. The work, where required, is often uninteresting and dull, and is little more than welfare. There are of course notable exceptions as in the case of Mobilization for Youth. Within poverty communities there seems to be a lack of opportunity for jobs which will engender good work habits and provide the socialization for the learning of technical skills. What seems to be needed is an opportunity for long-term involvement with programs which engender good work habits, provide interesting and satisfying work projects, and which can offer continuity through the adolescent years.

A critical ingredient in socialization is the relationships between adults and children. Such relationships must be intrinsically satisfying in order for work socialization to be effective. By definition, a relationship requires long-term and intimate involvement and mutual trust and concern. Unfortunately for manpower development such relationships cannot be mass produced or provided for in crash programs. In the Sage Hill Camp program, it is the explicit intention to develop such working relationships in order that teenagers accept the influences or socialization in regard to work. These relationships develop in the context of cooperative work and recreation projects, where relationships themselves have a higher priority over the work itself. In addition to providing a work oriented socialization, these camp relationships establish rapport vital to the camp follow-up program which makes possible the advocating for returning campers in regard to legal, medical, psychiatric, educational, and guidance problems, etc. In summary, the Sage Hill Camp program seeks to enmesh younger teenagers in an ongoing organization which is work oriented and which provides a satisfying and engaging experience in the context of a program which is balanced between work and recreation. The involvement in the program and the relationships among participants are designed specifically to provide work-oriented socialization necessary for later employment.

Summer camping has an accepted place in American society and is generally regarded as desirable, a sign of prestige, and something which is fun and enjoyable. It appeals to teenagers because of their adventurous nature and because it is intended explicitly to be enjoyable. It is free from many of the negative aspects of the institutions in which teenagers are involved and often fail in, such as school. It can offer a neutral corner where a person is expected to be self-reliant, to enjoy himself, and is free from evaluation by those arbitrary standards which define so often poverty youngsters as failures.

The justifications for summer camps include the need for fresh air, being close to nature, getting away from the city, and recreation, etc. Summer camps have also been used as an opportunity to provide a more palatable summer school, providing religious training, recreation, and therapeutic programs for delinquent and disturbed children. Typically, however, the summer camp is not an integral part of the year-round life of the community and thus fails to actualize its potential for making a sustained and salient impact on individuals. While it may be a pleasant interlude it is isolated from the main stream of events that are important in a boy's life. As a program or experience for poverty youngsters, it may provide a taste of the good life which often makes difficult the return to the community. While some may respond to these discrepancies with increased effort to be free from the constraints of poverty, for many it is undoubtedly a disillusioning and discouraging experience which only heightens the alienation from one's community and from one's self.

If, however, a summer work camp program is used to involve boys in a salient and work oriented year-round program which develops close working relationships as a vehicle for socialization for work then it will realize more fully the potential of a summer camp and follow-up program.

The approaches to the problem of poverty can be arranged on a continuum ranging from those which explain poverty as a social issue to those which regard it as a personal trouble. Poverty is explained as a poverty of a political and economic power and the strategy for breaking the poverty cycle is essentially political. It requires that people organize themselves so that they may wrest their fair share of subsidies, services, preferential treatment, jobs, tax abatements, etc. It is a long-term approach to poverty and as such can do relatively little about the immediate needs of specific people.

At the other end of the continuum, poverty is regarded as a personal trouble, and for which the individual is uniquely responsible. Primary emphasis is given to providing technical skills for employment. The Job Corps Centers have sought primarily to provide technical training, but have also somewhat addressed themselves to the problem of socialization toward work. For example, Job Core trainees are isolated from their communities for extended periods so as to remove trainees from the poverty perpetuating influences of their home environment, and in so doing facilitate their technical training. The opportunities for effective socialization appear meager in a massive institution which brings together randomly selected people and treat them in a sterotyped way, when trainees need programs and experiences suited to idiosyncratic needs. The network of relationships in such a program which is composed of strangers may lend itself to extremely deleterious social relationships. Typically, many boys seek to determine the toughest one in the place and thus cause many threatening experiences in establishing the pecking order. A major source of control is often unrestrained peer group coercion which may provide an atmosphere counterproductive for socialization in regard to work habits. In our first session of the camp, the five staff, with thirty-five years of psychiatric group work experience, felt themselves to be on the verge of becoming overwhelmed by the problems in dealing with only twenty poverty youngsters. In fact, little effective control short of coercion can be established amongst relative strangers. Once people develop relationships, and there is a sense of community,control becomes feasible because individuals want to do what they need to do, i.e., they develop internalized controls. Such a network of cooperative relationships appears to be difficult to establish, if not incompatible with large-scale institutions. The very nature of these institutions may preclude the establishment of these intimate working relationships crucial for socialization. This leaves the task oriented desire to learn technical skills as a vehicle for social order and hopefully socialization.

In the community one is faced with the problem of trying to provide good work experience for youngsters which can provide both socialization and meaningful educational jobs. One must continually contend with what can be regarded as the negative influences of the environment and the inherent dilution of one's influence by working in the open community. Community-based programs lend themselves to compartmentalization. One's life is segmented into areas of work, of play, of raising hell, and of one's family, etc. With life segmented, it is difficult to provide the coherent experience necessary to integrate the divergent aspects of life in a comprehensive manner in order to make possible a work-oriented socialization.

As a result of the extreme difficulties of working in the community, the neighborhood youth corpstype projects have in some cases unavoidably deteriorated into providing little more than "make work" if not outright welfare for youngsters. Such programs may be relevant in that they can represent the first steps taken by youngsters at any attempt to work in an organized manner. Hopefully such programs will selectively recruit individuals suited to these low-level demands and may have a commensurate amount of influence. The critical problem is the ability to progress in work experience rather than end up simply as a preparation for adult welfare. There are, of course, the marked advantages of working in the community. The community may remain the home of the individual and,as such,provides a great deal of support through family, friends, familiar surroundings, etc. It seems imperative that some support be provided in the community to sustain a work-oriented personality. In the case of the returning job corpstrainee, this is a community to which he returns to resocialize to a non-work way of life. In short, there is a great need for programs which combine the assets and minimize the deficits of both working in the community and in being isolated from the community neither of which alone relate in meaningful ways nor are supported by the community experience.

The camp program offers an opportunity forcommonizingthe assets of these two different types of programs. Because summer camps are regarded as desirable and useful, they offer an acceptable interlude removed from the ghetto, which is sufficient to establish working relationships between the adults and the campers. Such relationships would be more difficult to establish in a community setting. The removal from competing influences and the cooperative nature of the venture make possible the establishing of these critical relationships, which are mandatory for work-oriented socialization. A pleasurable experience which combines recreation, satisfying relationships, meaningful work, etc., establishes relationships that can be generalized to and capitalized on in the community. The camp follow-up program is designed specifically to provide both group support for camp induced changes, and to make available needed opportunities and services. The camp and year-round follow-up program provide a work-oriented experience for teenagers which is available through their adolescent years. The continuity between the camp and the community provides support and enhances the work-oriented socialization. The cumulative effects over the years of participating in the program provides the socialization necessary for effective work habits and employment. The techniques, strategies, and rationale of the program are delineated in the following sections.

I. The Work Program

The work program at the different Sage Hill camps has successfully integrated a work experience into a meaningful and satisfying camp program. With teenagers particularly, it seems most effective to teach them by putting them in a situation where they will learn for themselves the attitudes, motivations and skills one is trying to engender. Work provides an ideal opportunity for adults and teenagers to work together and thus break down the usual barriers that separate them. The prerequisites of effective group projects are precisely those attitudes, motivations, and inter-personal skills which are necessary to socialization for work. The fact that in the course of the three summers the staff and the boys have completed the following major projects testifies to the fact that they participated in an effective work project.

a. A twenty-by-twenty two-story cabin was built straddling a ravine with a brook running underneath it and a balcony cantilevered over a small waterfall. This project entailed carrying 8,000 pounds of concrete down a ravine in buckets for the footings, shingling the entire house, paneling the interior of the house, and installing windows, doors, etc.

b. A thirteen-by-eighteen foot, sixty year old, log cabin was dismantled, and the logs numbered and removed to the camp property. In the following year, the concrete piers were poured, and the cabin was re-erected and is now used during the summer months.

c. In Vermont, a log cabin with with 2,100 square feet of floor space was completed up to the second story. This entailed the pouring of concrete footings , and floors the putting up of thirteen hundred cement blocks, the building of the first floor and the putting up of the logs through the second floor. This building took place over eight weeks during the summer.

d. One mile of road was improved to the camp site, which provided an opportunity to run a D-4 bulldozer and to work by hand on the road.

e. At both the Colorado and Vermont camps the boys built their own tent platforms or lean-tos. On this project they only received help upon request. In general it has proved to be one of the most valuable learning experiences because it requires that the boys select a site, select tent-mates, bring material to the sites and organize their efforts sufficiently to build a usable tent platform or lean-to. As little technical skill, perfection, or permanence is required boys can be left on their own. This project has proved to be unique in the boys' lives and a source of great pride and personal satisfaction.

f. In addition to these projects there were numerous other daily activities that were necessary for the day-to-day operation of the camp. Such jobs as the building of campfires, the doing of dishes, the clearing of land, the burning of garbage, etc., all needed to be done. The mere fact that these projects were completed testifies to the ability of the camp program to organize campers for effective work efforts.

This work is generally regarded as enjoyable, satisfying, and intrinsically valuable in the setting of the camp. It was not perceived as "made work" or as dull and dreary. The projects were exciting and dramatic and of great personal relevance. The boys regarded it as their camp that they were building. These would be facilities that they would go on to use. In addition to providing an opportunity to teach some of the basic skills in carpentry, masonry, heavy equipment operation, conservation, etc., these work projects engendered a spirit of cooperation and a sense of partnership in the camp program.

Because of the constraints imposed on poverty teenagers, there is little opportunity to demonstrate virility and competence except in regard to being a "cool stud," and in the context of athletics and in the often bravado-like escapades of the delinquents. Work as a testimony to one's competence and ability to be constructive and positive by and large is not available to ghetto teenagers. For these reasons, the work projects at camp were regarded as extremely satisfying and rewarding experiences, which the boys have been taking increasing amounts of pride in over the years. The work projects are designed specifically to provide challenging but not overwhelming projects for all the campers. As in throwing darts one does not derive satisfaction from throwing darts from one hundred yards away or from stabbing the bullseye from one inch away. Similarly, the work projects must be suited to the abilities of the campers, explicitly, the work programs are set up to minimize the chances of failure and to maximize the opportunities for a successful and positive experience. For the boy whose attention span is extremely limited, short-term projects with little tedium are needed. Relative to their own previous work experience most of the boys feel that they have not worked harder before or that they have ever had such a satisfying work experience.

By working the boys earn their camp fees which enhances the value of the camp in their eyes. Unlike the more usual "scut" work, this work is intrinsically satisfying and is seen as a necessity for the functioning of their camp. The superordinate goal of building the camp itself brings together the staff and the campers in a way which breaks down the barriers that separate adults from teenagers, whites, blacks, Spanish, etc. It also provides an opportunity for individual self-actualization. The work projects are sufficiently varied so that they can be suited to the unique needs of the individuals. The work projects require that people be sufficiently effective to build houses, make roads, etc. Specifically this menas that there must be sufficient personal and group organization for cooperation on these tasks. People must voluntarily do their share of work because they want to rather than because somebody is forcing them. They must regard the rights of others and to be able to work effectively in a structured situation with their fellow campers. The boys have come to value work and accomplishment and on many occasions have chosen to continue working as opposed to going on trips to town, swimming, etc. In addition to being a very positive work experience such projects involve the campers in the program which is crucial for any socialization.

II.

Another vital ingredient in the camp program is the important role of the campers in decision and policy-making of the camp. Nightly evening meetings are conducted in which activities are planned, disciplinary problems are discussed, and recommendations and votes are taken on matters of policy and specific decisions. It is ironic that teenagers are so often criticized for being irresponsible when in fact adults are extremely reluctant to trust them with significant responsibilities.

These evening meetings function to provide social control and active participation in camp life. Since physical coercion and intimidation are precluded as techniques for social control, participation becomes increasingly important. The boys are given a major voice in the planning of camp activities, the scheduling and organizing of work projects, the criticizing of staff where appropriate. Boys establish their own rules at the camp and have a "non-token" voice in the governing of camp affairs. Only in areas of legal responsibility and life and limb can the boys be vetoed, but in these cases they are consulted. They are willing to abide much more readily with the rules that they have formulated themselves. As the problems occur in camp, they are recognized and discussed and boys are asked to set up rules for situations to try to solve them. In this context rules are not regarded as the arbitrary fiats of adults but as useful and necessary ways of structuring and guiding the program. In this context they are far more willing to abide by their own rules which they have seen need for, formulated, and enforced themselves. In addition to being an effective technique of social control these meetings are an important learning experience. When rules are taken out of the realm of being the arbitrary fiats of adults, they become more intelligible and more meaningful. The need for certain types of organization and procedures is more recognizible in this context than one which engenders disagreement and a game of cops and robbers, which are common responses to imposed rules.

Typically with new boys the evening meetings are regarded with disinterest and apprehension. Initially, boys deny any interest in them, see them as futile or as a waste of time, etc. They are, however, extremely engaging experiences and as boys speak up, they are encouraged or compelled to express their opinions and their point of view. For example, if one boy accuses somebody else of not working it is hard to remain disinterested and say "I don't know," "I don't care." He usually comes to his own defense and says, "Well you don't understand this and that, etc." Initially, fifteen minute evening meetings seem to be a drag with an obvious pro forma quality. However, usually toward the end of the camp, three and four hour meetings were not uncommon. For solving the inherent conflicts that inevitably emerged in any group these meetings were invaluable. They continually reaffirmed that this is our camp; that we can run it however we want; and that unlike the city, here a small group of people can through democratic procedures plan their lives and to develop working relationships that are necessary in order to facilitate the achievement of the camp goals of accomplishing certain construction projects, taking so many camping trips, and in general having a good time.

Topics of the evening meetings have included such things as the planning of trips, and the camp canteen for which the boys are solely responsible, the organizing of work detail, and how to improve relationships with the staff and campers, and stealing. Abstract discussions have occurred about philosophies of penology, racism, the war in Vietnam, urban problems, drug addiction, welfare, poverty and psychotherapy. One of the things which is obvious is that the teenagers who have attended camp are extremely perceptive and well worth listening to. For example, on one occasion, some boys had left camp and gone to town, had not completed the job as they had agreed to. At the evening meeting it was brought up and an extremely sophisticated conversation ensued about the philosophies of penology. Some authoritarian boys wanted to crucify the boys involved. When severe punishments were discussed, another boy raised the problem that if we crucify them we'll never be able to live with them which raised the question of rehabilitation. Should punishment be so severe that people become embittered and never try to involve themselves again? Other suggestions included letting the problem slide which was considered unduly tolerant. With each punishment various criticisms were made and the implications were discussed, which was an extremely beneficial experience for the boys in that they began to see for themselves the dilemma that adults are confronted with in regard to punishments. Finally, one boy said, "Well, why not give them one last chance",at which point a particularly perceptive boy who was later hired as a junior counselor said, "Never give a boy a last chance. In fact, there never really is a last chance unless you're dead and it is only an upsetting experience which scares people. In fact, a last chance is like walking on a two-foot plank. It is easy to do when the plank is on the ground, but if you put it two hundred feet in the air as is the case with the 'last chance' then somebody will invariably fall off."

In addition to being a democratic and effective way of establishing control and involving the boys, the evening meetings provide a valuable learning experience. Many of the boys have never really been given an opportunity to participate in the decisions which affect their lives. Many find it novel, exciting, and meaningful experience , particularly after their return home. Several campers have related experiences where they have tried to talk to police, school teachers, welfare workers and to make suggestions on how they might be more effective and have better relations with teenagers only to be squelched brutally. At these times they come to realize the full value and need of being listened to. In the course of these meetings, many long and tedious discussions occur about what might be quickly and much more efficiently settled by fiat. Such temptations must be disregarded because of the importance of the evening meeting as a learning experience no matter how trivial the topics of discussion.

These meetings are essential for establishing rapport and working relationships between the staff and campers. They offer a vital functional alternative to the deletorious controls of physical coercion, be it by the staff or the gangland rule of campers. Programs seeking to engender internalized changes or socialization must provide an opportunity whereby people can express their ideas and become involved in decision making, etc. Barring this one gets compliance and the chance of a heavy by-product of fear and intimidation, which creates a negative atmosphere in which to socialize teenagers regarding work.

III.

The major aspect of the Sage Hill Camp program which differentiates it from most other summer camp programs is its ability to offer continuity to the campers. The camp offers boys an opportunity both to return year after year for as long as they care to and to participate in the year round follow-up in the community. If the major thrust of the camp program is to provide some work oriented socialization, then it must provide the socialization over a relatively long period of time and during the more impressionable years. With regard to work, the teenage years seem most crucial to those personality characteristics,and habits and attitudes which are most immediately relevant to work. Hence, the chances are that a boy coming to the program at thirteen years of age and remainigwith the program for six years will be influenced during these more impressionable years because of his prolonged involvement in the program. Such influence over a period of time is probably more effective than that of a crash program when he is eighteen When he is eighteen and should be receiving technical training as a keypunch operator, programmer, refrigeration mechanic, etc. rather than be learning some of the basic attitudes, motivations, and inter-personal skills requisite for effective work. If socialization begins earlier , the work experience and the work training can rest on a solid foundation. It probably taxes the capacity of a program like a Job-Corpscenter to have to both transmit technical skills and provide, relatively later in life, socialization appropriate as a prerequisite to steady employment. In addition, continuity is provided by offering the opportunity to come back and by accepting the camper's friends as referrals to the program. They are generally accepted from the same catchment area,which facilitates the development of continuity throughout the year. This provides a reasonably stable group which maintains long-term involvement. [illegible] one another Returning campers have a history and tradition in a camp program and have a commitment to it, which is communicated to campers lessening the impact of the new campers. This kind of stability in the program will enable to accept more disruptive hard-core poverty youngsters, because the stability will be a result of the continuity of the campers,which [illegible] greatly augments the effectiveness of the staff in terms of control.

IV.

One way the summer camp program is able to continue to appeal to older teenagers is through its Junior Counselors Program, which provides increased responsibility for campers as they come up through the ranks. The first step in the program is that of a senior camper. Here, individuals who are not ready for employment as leaders are given specific jobs where their responsibilities will be more task oriented than people oriented. Such jobs include looking after the tools and checking them in and out, being responsible for the burning of garbage, maintaining on the trucks, etc. These jobs offer specific and delimited kinds of responsibilities where the camper can demonstrate his [illegible] ability to be a junior counselor. The Junior Counselor Program is the one instance where specific "new careers" job training is provided. for the reasons outlined below.

The feasibility and justification for the junior counselor program is based on the following premises and observations:

1. It is extremely difficult to entice adequate adults to work in a summer camp. They are usually highly paid and quite likely to participate in the program for only one summer, if for that long. Junior counselors, however, are easily enticed because [illegible] they enjoy the program and are closely identified with it and to them the salary is beyond many of their expectations. It seems unrealistic to entice strangers at great cost into the program, when there is a readily available crew of youngsters for whom the experience can be beneficial and who are familiar with the program.

2. One usually cannot make accurate judgments about individuals and their performance in residential programs because, except in the obvious cases, it is almost impossible to know who will work effectively in the pressure cooker of a residential program. It is simply extremely difficult to judge their ability to work with others, except by observing them on the job. Inherently, in hiring an adult, one is forced to give them a large amount of responsibility on an essentially unknown basis. Contrary to this, junior counselors, coming up through the ranks, can be given responsibility gradually, commensurate with their skills and maturity. One can avoid the often perilous job of giving too much responsibility to an unknown person, because the junior counselors will have been seen at work.

3. Probably a relatively small percentage of people are capable of working in a residential program. Those qualified represent a relatively small percentage of those who are interested and motivated to work in residential programs for a variety of reasons, often ranging from naivete, to the attraction of the glamour, to deep-seated psychological pathology. Therefore, large numbers of individuals must be screened, usually through the inaccurate process of interviewing. Junior counselors, on the other hand, are screened through their attraction to the program and continued participation in the program. Large numbers of boys can be observed in relevant situations and more accurate judgments can be made about those unique individuals who seem capable of understanding and working with poverty boys.

4. Adults hired as strangers to the program usually require a great deal of indoctrination to the unique philosophy and approach of the camp. It has proved to be difficult to find individuals who can be persuaded that the boys are competent to run a large share of their program. All too often, adults are prone to do for the boys, rather than encourage the boys to do things for themselves. Junior counselors, however, will have a working familiarity with the program, and as usually the case, will know more about the program than will new staff. The training or indoctrination of the new counselors will have taken place through several years previous experience in the camp. Such training and development spread over three or four years previous is undoubtedly more effective than the sink-or-swim approach to working in a camp for two months.

5. One must realistically assume that mistakes are evitable in hiring counselors. Accepting this, one can look at the second order of benefits. In hiring adults, one often discovers that the defenses have become the personality and, as such, are not amenable to discussion or supervision because they have become part and parcel of their functional system of defenses, which is reflected in their inappropriate way of relating to boys. Inroads or pressures brought on their defenses are rightfully resisted. Most program directors and supervisory personnel are often faced with the dilemma of having a vote of 50-49 to fire or to keep some very marginal staff. Often, the press of circumstances forces one to keep marginal staff and one inevitably is then drawn into spending large amounts of time trying to support and work through various difficulties. If, in the end, these efforts are for naught, the individual adult is not much better for the experience as opposed to a junior counselor. If the junior counselor does not

develop in terms of a potential career in group work or in community organizing, the extensive investment in time and effort with him will undoubtedly be of therapeutic effect for the person as an individual. The long hours spent will hopefully leave him at least a more effective individual, sensitive to the needs of others and better able to assert himself.

6. The majority of applicants for jobs in residential program seems to be white and educated and as a group, eligible for a wide variety of jobs. Junior counselors tend to be less educated and non-white and in dire need of jobs. In line with the new careers concept, junior counselors will be receiving training and on-the-job experience effectively spread over several years to prepare them for jobs for whom qualified personnel are in desperately short supply. Even with the limited contacts of the project director, he would be able to place several hundred boys who are experienced and competent group workers in residential programs. One of the advantages of having non-white, well-screened, and well-trained residential group workers is [illegible] because they are in extremely short supply. Programs are making do with large numbers of people who would be replaced if more adequate manpower were available.

Comparative cost effectiveness figures are not available in the training of "new careers" type jobs. If the program turns out one community or group worker a year, the total cost of his training is probably around and for thirteen thousand dollars. For this amount he would have received training in leadership and close supervision over some five or six years. This expense is probably competitive with the cost of maintaining one youth in a job core program for a year. In cost effectiveness terms alone this would almost be enough to justify the entire camp program.

The above aspects of the camp program are most relevant to the maintenance of an effective program which provides a meaningful educational experience, socializes toward effective work habits, and provides an intrinsically enjoyable experience. Given the problems inherent in a residential program, these techniques have proved to be both workable and effective. The extent to which they are compatible with large-scale residential programs is questionable. This will be discussed later. The following aspects of the program have more to do with the nature and function of relationships in the community that are the result of working with the boys. Good working relationships between the staff and the campers are both a cause and an effect of the camp program. A relationship, by definition, requires prolonged and mutual involvement with mutual concerns and trust. Without such relationships many problems become vexing and are difficult to solve. For example, social control in a program is extremely difficult between strangers. Except for the threat of outright coercion, there is relatively little that other than expert group workers can do to establish effective and meaningful control in a group of strangers. Effective relationships are critical in terms of the process of socialization because the transmitting of values, attitudes, inter-personal skills, and motivation is contingent to a great extent upon the credibility of the adults and their relationships to campers. If the adult and junior counselors are regarded with trust and seen as friends and partners in a joint venture, then their influence is much more effective.

The ability to develop meaningful relationships is ultimately dependent on the quality of the staff and on the structure of their relationships with the campers. The problems of finding and retaining competent and commited staff are acute,as described in the section on the junior counselor program. Once the staff has been hired, they receive extensive orientation which seeks to orient them to the basic philosophy and the importance and nature of their relationships to the campers. In general, they are expected to be non-punitive, to address themselves to the positive assets of the youngsters, and to be accepting and free from any middle-class prejudices. They are neither to use physical coercion or the threat of it, nor to be demeaning or patronizing in their relationships. With such positive orientation and the interacting with the campers as partners in the camp program, they are able to develop effective relationships.

An important distinction to be made is between the inter-personal style of a staff member and the structure of his relationships. Style is idiosyncratic and not amenable to supervision or alteration . An individual staff member must be sufficiently unencumbered to perform according to his accustomed style. This flexibility may not be feasible in large scale and more standardized programs. While not infringing upon personal style it is important that a friendly, cooperative, supportive, and positive relationship be facilitated by the camp structure.

One of the most difficult aspects of the staff role is to unobtrusively and continually put campers in a position where they solve problems for themselves and thus learn from their own experience. In too many programs adults end up doing things to and for the children. Sage Hill Camp staff are specifically supervised and encouraged to find and use ways in which he is to get campers to do as much for themselves as they can. Where he does provide support and structure and leadership, it is designed to be as unobtrusive as possible.

The staff's relationship with the campers has proved to be significant as an advocate back in the community. As in most poverty communities there is a dearth of professional services in medicine, psychiatry, law, welfare, and education, etc. Even where such services exist they are often not utilized because of the many impediments to obtaining quick and effective help. Poverty people are not particularly adept or comfortable in dealing with bureaucracies which have often been a source of many patronizing and humiliating encounters. For a wide variety of reasons, they are often reluctant to make use of even those services that are available to them. This is made more serious by the fact that poverty people have more than their share of medical, legal, and educational difficulties. Because of the close relationship that has developed between the directors of the program and the various campers, they have been called on to help with legal, medical, psychiatric, welfare and educational problems. In several instances such help happened to be available from case workers or probation officers who in fact were concerned and would have gone beyond their prescribed duties to provide this help. Their help was not sought out because they did not have a relationship with the people and were distrusted because of their roles in a hostile establishment. I have received telephone calls from 2,000 miles away seeking help that was in fact available locally. This highlights the vital importance of the relationships in the delivery of services. For people who are apprehensive and leary of the various formal caregivers, help is often only available through the advocating of the mutually acceptable third party. The following are some of the examples of help in situations where the director has personally advocated on behalf of the campers or their families.

1) A boy broke his ankle while playing touch football and went to the local clinic where the break was treated as a sprain and the boy was sent home. The next day it was discovered that it was a broken ankle and the boy was treated in a manner lacking of consideration and support and anything that might be considered an appropriate "bed-side manner." The cast was mistakenly removed prematurely and had to be put on again. When the cast was removed, the boy walked on the leg in which a union had apparently not taken place. If left untreated this might have meant serious complications later, including the possibility of a bone graft. The boy's case worker knew of the problem and repeatedly asked the boy to go to a hospital or clinic and have it examined. The boy was unwilling to return to the clinic where he was poorly treated both medically and personally and he was unwilling to go to a private physician because he felt his mother could not afford it. Repeated efforts on the part of the case worker were to no avail. When I spoke to him, I immediately told him he should go to a doctor. I made all the arrangements and dispatched his reluctance with my respected advice. The leg was taken care of and treated properly primarily because I was in a position to advocate for him as an accepted third party.

2) An A.D.C. mother whose boys were placed on probation again, had been coerced into signing them over to the court so that they might be taken at the court's discretion. Because of her problems with English, she was unaware of the implications of what she was doing. When she discovered what she had done she was frantic, but was unable to get a clear statement of her rights and legal advice on what to do. When the boys returned from camp she sought our help both for translation and for referral to a lawyer who would take the case. She got free legal advice and was made aware of her rights to appeal, etc. The boys never were removed from the home, for reasons that are not known.

3) Numerous campers have been placed in vocational tracks in school which are often commensurate with neither their abilities nor interests. The bureaucratic decisions on their cases were often made without making them fully aware of the implications of these decisions. Boys were not made aware of the availability of academic tracks. Three separate boys were provided guidance on what was more appropriate for them and encouraged and helped throughout the tedious process of transferring them from vocational tracks and into academic tracks. These steps were taken when it was made clear that the director himself was willing to deal with the appropriate bureaucracies if necessary.

4) A boy who had been rejected at the School of Art and Design, a New York City school, was sold a $700 mail order course in commercial art. Undue

pressure was put on the boy and his mother to sign contracts for the course by assuring that this course would enable the boy to be accepted at Commercial Art high school. When the director heard of this he spoke to the mother, advised her of the problems involved in mail order courses and their potential for fraud or a very poor educational experience. Upon checking out the program, it was learned that more effective courses were available and considerably cheaper, and that a free tutor was even available. The director explained this to the parents and helped in the actual breaking of the contract. Without the intervention of a friend she would probably have paid for the course that she could ill afford and which would have been of little value.

5) Recently, a camper's father died, which made him eligible for social security payments, which he preferred to welfare. When he made arrangements to have support provided by social security, he was told mistakenly that he was not eligible. Part of the misunderstanding was due to language problems compounded by his lack of facility in dealing with bureaucracies. Upon the request of the family, the director was able to provide someone who was bilingual to go down with the mother and straighten out the mistakes.

6) A boy who had been taking drugs for a number of years signed himself into a drug addiction center. While there he called the director and made arrangemnnts to be discharged with the assurance that the director would provide help upon leaving the program. I picked up the boy at the drug addiction center and worked with him quite closely and tried to provide help with the problem of drug addiction and numerous other pooblems which were all interrelated. The boy at the time said that he felt that I was the only one that he could turn to at this time and he felt he had no friends and family who would help. He perceives the world as an unfriendly and hostile place. The offer of regular help was made beyond this period of crisis, but he has not yet taken advantage of it.

7) A boy who has been with the camp program since its beginning was informed at camp of the death of his mother. He has been through an incredible series of tragedies, bureaucratic blunders and subject to gross neglect by parents, foster parents, and welfare agencies. The death of his mother came as a great shock and was a crisis in the boy's life during which the camp staff provided important support. The boy literally moved in with the director and his wife for several days at camp. The camp made arrangements for the funeral and help was provided at this most difficult time. Such help at a time of crisis was not available from the local sheriff's deputy who came up to camp to announce that the boy's mother had died.

The list of specific incidents of advocating for the campers would be extended to include giving recommendations for jobs, finding jobs, providing guidance with regard to college applications and high school curriculum, etc. In summary, the close relationship between the campers and the staff has made possible the advocating for returning campers. The mutual nature of this commitment between the campers and the staff is highlighted in the case of a welfare worker who is employed by the camp and works with the former campers. Knowing them and having their trust, he finds it difficult to both be a friend and to act as a representative from a welfare agency.

This bifurcation of roles was highlighted in the humorous situation where the camp gets together regularly with boys during the year to go bowling, camping or other activities. One specific camper is willing to come to these activities because it is a camp activity with social workers acting as a staff of the camp rather than associal worker. On other occasions, when this neutrality does not prevail, the boy usually runs away from home whenever the welfare worker comes to get him to take him to a group working placement. Clearly the relationships that develop between the staff and the campers generalizes to the community, where these relationships make it possible for the staff to advocate effectively for the campers and their families.

As important as the availability of help at times of crises is the boy's standing invitation to come over to the director's apartment or to visit him at his job is similarly available. The boys who are most involved in the program seem to make the most use of these invitations and drop by on numerous occasions. One boy who is a former outpatient at a mental health clinic makes extensive use of this invitation. Once when I called his home, his sister answered the phone and when I asked for the boy she called his name and said, "Rod wants you." I was curious as to how she knew immediately who it was and she said without hesitation, "Well you're the only one who ever calls him." For many boys the availability of this relationship and support is both reassuring and extremely helpful in dealing with their numerous difficulties. The camp follow-up program also includes a variety of work-projects, camping trips, deep-sea fishing trips, swimming trips, ice-skating, bowling, the use of a gymnasium for basketball and recreation, etc. This continuity through the year and the development of an organization for teenagers makes possible a continuous involvement in an organization which is critical for advocating for boys in solving their numerous problems and in sustaining their socialization with regard to work, so that they may eventually be free from the constraints of imposed poverty.

Relationships in the Community

As relationships develop with campers over the years a base in the community will evolve which will serve many useful functions for both the camp and the community itself. Once the program is accepted by people in the community, the credibility and trustworthiness of the program is established. The problems of recruiting will be solved, which was a marked problem in both Colorado and Vermont. The days are fast dwindling when a white stranger can enter a ghetto community and recruit children for a distant work camp. Both camps have received numerous requests for boys to come to the camp. In addition to solving the practical problems of recruiting and saving many hours of effort, acceptance in the community will serve some very important purposes in terms of matching boys in the program.

Impressionistically, it seems that the boys who were adventurous enough, desperate enough, or whatever the reason they were willing to come to Vermont, were a distinctly biased sample of youngsters. In terms of response of the teenagers opinion survey, they seemed to have rather middle-class values and attitudes. Whether this is a function of some social desirability response set or was in fact their stated beliefs cannot be determined. In any case their stated opinions were atypical of the negative attitudes, alienation or self-esteem and so forth which is meant to describe the typical poverty adapted person. These apparently positive attitudes seem to be in many cases the result of a process of anticipatory socialization. That is, these attitudes were based on anticipations about middle-class life and about the attitudes, motivations, etc., appropriate to it. This impression of anticipatory socialization conflicts with the 51 to 49 vote between the poverty and non-poverty worlds that was hypothesized in the theoretical overview. Clearly there are boys who are psychologically adapted to the poverty environment, and who, no matter what the opportunities available, ~~are~~ they would not be able to hold a job, or get along adequately with people, or to be sufficiently organized or adaptive to "make it" in the non-poverty world. For boys who came to the camp, however, the problem seems to be more that of opportunity. Given a predisposition to the non-poverty way of life, the boys seemed to have altered those things over which they have effective control, namely their own psychologies. They developed through self-education, self-brainwashing, if you will, a set of attitudes that they envisioned to be typical middle-class values regarding responsibility, work, etc. However, these attitudes seem to be more a result of wishful thinking and fantasies about life in the promised land, rather than attitudes and motivations that are derived from realistic interaction with the environment and its opportunities. The campers were younger and had not as yet run into the dilemmas that face even the high school graduate: discrimination, both economic and racial. The extent to which the positive attitudes would survive in the face of increased frustration and a lack of fulfillment remains an unanswered question. For these boys the camp seems to have functioned as a bridge. It represents an escape from the contraints of poverty by providing a sufficiently intermediary step which allows the development of more realistic attitudes, motivations, and inter-personal skills.

The problem of self selection is of vital significance in matching participants to programs. Effective programs with competent staff and adequate resources can be rendered useless by a mismatching of participants to the program. One of the most distinct impressions from the summer camp experience has been the way the common denominator of poverty for the boys soon became a relatively unimportant matter. Upon knowing the boys as unique individuals and in treating them as such it rapidly became apparent that poverty boys, like all others, could be as different as day and night from one another. Personality differences are obvious and important in considering the boys who have attended camp. Knowing them now, one can designate some for whom a highly structured environment would be helpful, others who need a more permissive environment, etc. Along many psychological dimensions different types of milieux seem appropriate and therapeutic for different boys. Since no program can be all things to all people, it is essential that participants be matched to the program that are appropriate to their idiosyncratic needs.

The investment in more and more elegant paper and pencil tests may be less fruitful than scrutinizing and experimenting with the process of self-selection. One cannot help but be impressed by the way in which boys seem to know what is good for them. Given sufficient information they often make accurate judgments implicitly or explicitly about what programs are suited for them. This process of self selection was dramatically illustrated one night when in an uptown Harlem storefront where we were showing movies of the building of the camp in Colorado to a group of some twenty boys. After about two or three minutes of seeing the work going on in the film the boys started to leave. Some made snide comments about how stupid the work was and that it wasn't for them. They were going to stay in the city where the "cool" things were going on, etc. At the conclusion of the movie, only three boys were left, all of whom showed a serious interest in coming to camp and two of whom did come for the summer.

As a program becomes known in the community through its relations with parents, campers, friends of campers, etc., accurate information is disseminated about the program which will be likely to attract those whose interests are suited to the program and to repel those who aren't interested in this kind of program. Depending on the nature and the extent of barriers that are contrived to get into the program, one can clearly change the quality of the participants. For example, if one erects numerous barriers like coming across town at a specific time to take paper and pencil personality tests, one will very clearly get a different sample of people arriving than if one stands on a street corner describing a way in which one can make quick money with little work to any passerby. Future research will be to compare groups of people who are self-selected and their distinctions on paper and pencil tests.

This last summer, two boys who were accepted for the summer camp were split apart from their friends because of chance random assignment of campers to the different sessions. Fearing the unknown and being apprehensive about not having the support of a friend, these two boys choose not to come to camp. During the year they have gotten to know the camp, have been on several trips and activities with the camp, and they now have sufficient information and experience with the camp to commit themselves to come this summer.
Had such information been initially available the boys might have attended camp earlier. Being known in the community allows for making more accurate judgments about involving one's self with a program, and thus maximizes the potential of a program.

The process of self selection has been used to govern a relationship with parents. Clearly any program which seeks to drive a wedge between a boy and a family which is giving him support and encouragement, etc., is only jeopardizing its own effectiveness. Given the capriciousness and the strains of upward mobility, many boys will choose the security of family as opposed to taking their chances about a very uncertain future. In cases where such support of families exists, the camp has sought to develop a spirit of cooperation between the parents and the camp program. The camp has sought to involve them in the camp program and let them know that the program is [illegible] trying to help them in raising children in difficult circumstances. Their help and advice are actively solicited. On the other hand, there are boys who do not want their families involved. They come from broken, disrupted, or destructive family situations from which they want to escape. In several instances boys have made it emphatically clear that they don't want their parents to have anything to do with the program. From their point of view a major asset of the program is that it allows them to get away from home. In such cases, boys are told that their parents are always welcome whenever they feel like involving them, but that this is up to them. As a result of allowing this process of self selection to work, some of the boys have gotten their parents involved, which has been helpful to the camp. Some parents have gone on the various camping trips and come to parents' meetings, etc. A parents' board of advisors is being set up in order to formalize this relationship and gain their cooperation and support.

This network of relationships will grow as the camp becomes more well known and as more boys become involved in the program. While it is not an immediate goal of the program, eventually such a mutual interest might serve as the catalyst for a community organization which could deal with larger community issues.

One can sum up the implications of the Sage Hill Camp program by suggesting the premises, priorities, and a time-table for a camp and year-round program. If given the task of preparing boys for a work oriented way of life,I would proceed as follows:

1. First I would recognize that preparation for effective work is in fact a type of socialization which depends on the development of viable relationships between adults and youngsters which are characterized by trust, mutual concern, and mutual involvement built up over the years. In order to facilitate the development of these relationships I would start with a small cadre of boys and involve them in a task providing [illegible] goals as building a summer camp, renovating a tenement building, etc. I would further engender their cooperation and active participation by sharing with them in a "non-token" way the planning and decision-making about the program. Once this cadre of boys became deeply involved in the program and identified with it, I would gradually introduce new recruits to the program in small enough numbers so as not to overwhelm the existing cadre. While a brief interlude away from the poverty perpetuating influences of the community and its diluting effects would be helpful, such an undertaking could be started in a community itself. As the program developed I would bring campers up through the ranks as junior counselors and give them increased responsibility for the project. This would provide a more stable staff and one for whom there are career opportunities open for which they can be suitably trained. Once relationships were established with the campers, I would utilize them to the fullest by providing advocate services for returning campers and help them with legal, medical, psychiatric problems, etc. I would develop year-round activities in order to provide group support for the socialization for an effective work orientation. Where appropriate, I would seek the support of the family toward this effort; otherwise, I would try to act as a guardian or like a foster parent for those boys who were not getting along with their families.

If socialization is my goal, I recognize that it must take place over a long period of time, during impressionable years, and with continuity. Since socialization ultimately rests upon the relationships and credibility, therefore development of these relationships must be the explicit goal of the program. By definition relationships absolutely may not be quickly mass produced. They require individuals spending time together and sharing mutual involvement and concerns, for which there can be no short circuits. Relationships may be less important in the transmitting of technical skills, but in regard to socialization,they are critical. Such relationships cannot be a latent function of technical training or a matter of happenstance; they must be actively promoted and nurtured if the goal of the program is socialization with regard to attitudes, motivations and interpersonal skills,all of which culminate in effective work habits and productive work. It may strain to the breaking point the capacity of technical training, as in job corp centers to provide socialization in the course of technical training some socialization is obviously a prerequisite.

Obviously it is much easier to build large scale job-corp-type centers where by administrative fiat, one can mobilize the necessary extensive resources. The question is if they can be designed so as to facilitate the development of the relationships. It may be that large scale organizations do not facilitate or perhaps simply are not compatible with the prerequisites for socialization necessary to develop effective work habits. Smaller decentralized programs raise many problems in that they cannot be decreed into existence and unavoidably raise many idiosyncratic difficulties by their diversity. Small programs have the benefit of not cramping individual staff's style and may be uniquely in a position to tailor its social milieu to the unique needs of the participants.

In terms of feasibility, large numbers of small scale organizations, though more trouble administratively, are probably cheaper to run than large scale organizations. Not including the cost of the land, the per capita cost of building facilities and maintaining campers and their year round follow-up program is well under $1,000 per boy per year. This cost would be reduced as the cost of the initial buildings and equipment are amortized. After six years it would still be well below the cost of one year in a job-corps center. The graduating of one careers-type person a year would almost cover the cost of the operation of the summer camp.

Unfortunately it is easier to invest money than to find and support competent and committed people to run such programs. Decentralized programs would be subject to many abuses and could be rendered ineffective by inappropriate people. Undoubtedly, amongst the ranks of school teachers, workers in residential programs, etc., there are numerous people who would be willing to start such programs and would be effective. It would meet their needs for individual initiative and also would allow them to design a program suited to their interests, styles of working, etc. These people are difficult to find but ultimately are the foundation upon which any program rests. To date two such people have been found for the Sage Hill Camp Program and plans are being made for providing seed money grants.

In summary, the Sage Hill Camp Program seeks to actualize the full potential of summer camp programs. The camp program is used as an entre to develop relationships which can be generalized to other settings. Staff and campers working together in the building of the program and in the running of the program become partners in a joint effort which is engaging for all concerned. Such active participation leads them to want to do what they need to do in terms of their responsibilities for decision-making, work, etc. In short, it provides a continuous work oriented socialization in and out of the community during the impressionable adolescent years. The program rests on the relationships and credibility developed in an interlude removed from the poverty perpetuating influence, and supported and enhanced by a year round follow-up program that provides social support for the socialization for effective work habits.

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